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OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

DELHAVSMUSEET

9 1994

# The Swedish Cyprus Expedition The Living Past











MUSEUM OF MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EASTERN ANTIQUITIES

MEDELHAVSMUSEET

MEMOIR 9

STOCKHOLM 1994

*Cover: On the front, Alfred Westholm and a Cypriote workman excavating in the palace of Vouni. Photo archives of the SCE.  
On the back, a view into the Cypriote exhibition at the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm.  
Photo Margareta Sjöblom.*

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# The Swedish Cyprus Expedition The Living Past

Edited by

EVA RYSTEDT

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# Preface

On November 4-5, 1992, a conference on Cypriote archaeology was held at the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities (Medelhavsmuseet) in Stockholm. Its arrangement was closely connected with a temporary exhibition of Cypriote antiquities from the museum of the Pierides family in Larnaca.

The thirteen speakers at the conference were Swedish and foreign members of the Cypriote scholarly community. They addressed themselves to various topics, some connected with recent archaeological work on the island, some with the scholarly past in which Swedes took such a significant part, through the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927-1931).

For this book the contributions relating to the Expedition have been picked out. All deal with the scholarly past, a past which is very present at this Museum in the overwhelmingly rich Cypriote material in the exhibitions and storerooms, which it is the task of the Museum to preserve for the benefit of the general public and coming generations of scholars. This publication is actually directed to both categories: on the one hand, to readers who wish to acquaint themselves generally with the work and thought of the members of a Swedish archaeological mission of decisive importance and their followers in later times and, on the other hand, to the more

scholarly-minded readers who may take an interest in the listings of archaeological and archive material kept at the Museum and the bibliographical indications of recent publications by authors who have availed themselves of the Cypriote collections at the Museum. A booklet recently published by Paul Åström (*"The fantastic years on Cyprus". The Swedish Cyprus expedition and its members* (SIMA-PB, 79), Jonsö 1994) will be a good companion, focusing on the single personalities of the Expedition.

Although the Swedish Cyprus Expedition took place more than half a century ago, it is, and tends to remain, an ongoing project, since it will always entice scholars to continue and add to the original results. Alfred Westholm, one of the members of the Expedition and a participant in the conference, expressed this fact very openly to the audience. When asked how and at what point the Swedes in charge of the publication decided to put an end to the work on the material, in order to hand over what they had done to the printers, he answered: "There never really was such a point and there never can be, since the work must continue ...".

Eva Rystedt  
Medelhavsmuseet



# From the Swedish Cyprus Expedition to the Medelhavsmuseet of Today

Carl-Gustaf Styrenius

The Swedish archaeological engagement in Cyprus and the starting of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition cannot be understood without a knowledge of the efforts made by a member of the Pierides family to create this engagement. In order to explain the importance of the Pierides family in this respect, I shall cite a couple of pages from *Asine. The Swedish excavations*, a popular book in Swedish published in 1931 by Professor Axel W. Persson, of Uppsala. Persson tells the story in the following way:

It was August 1922. I was travelling together with one of our young assistants and we had reached the frontier between Hungary and Yugoslavia. It was only a short time after the world war and the control at the border was very strict. All the passengers, except those travelling in the *wagon de luxe* of the Orient Express and those who had passports issued by a ministry, were forced to leave their carriages with all their luggage in order to pass the passport and customs control. We were fortunate enough to be allowed to stay in our carriage and, while we were sitting there, a middle-aged gentleman appeared, talkative and jovial, who came over from the Prague-Constantinople carriage. When he heard that we were archaeologists, he was delighted and said that we were nearly colleagues, as he was a member of the Archaeological Council of Cyprus. When he heard that we were Swedes, he became still more delighted, saying that we were nearly compatriots, as he was the Swedish consul in Larnaca.

Then we started to talk about the archaeologists in Athens and it turned out that we

had many friends in common. We spoke about the excavations at Asine, and I mentioned that H.R.H. Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf himself intended to take part in the work for some weeks. Luki Z. Pierides (this was the name of my new friend) then asked if I thought that it would be possible to get the Crown Prince interested in an excavation in Cyprus. I told him that it might be possible after we had finished at Asine. He wondered if I thought that the Crown Prince would like to receive a small collection of Cypriote antiquities. I said that I was certain that he would.

After we had been together for a quarter of an hour, he asked if I could lend him ten pounds. He received the money with many thanks. He had got into a serious situation, because he had forgotten to declare his currency holding on entering Germany. When, later on, he was leaving the country, the authorities at the border had taken the money.

We continued to chat and Pierides asked if I was interested in coming over to Cyprus to visit the rich museum at Nicosia and his own private collection. I said that I was interested but that I could not do so for the time being. Then he asked if I had a young assistant whom I could send instead. I answered that it was quite possible.

Then he asked if he could borrow five pounds more. He had not got a visa for the transit through Bulgaria and he feared to be sent back at the Bulgarian border. He promised to ask his bank to send me the money to Athens as soon as he got to Constantinople. He received the five pounds and in triumph he returned to his carriage, showed the money and said to his countrymen, "I asked you

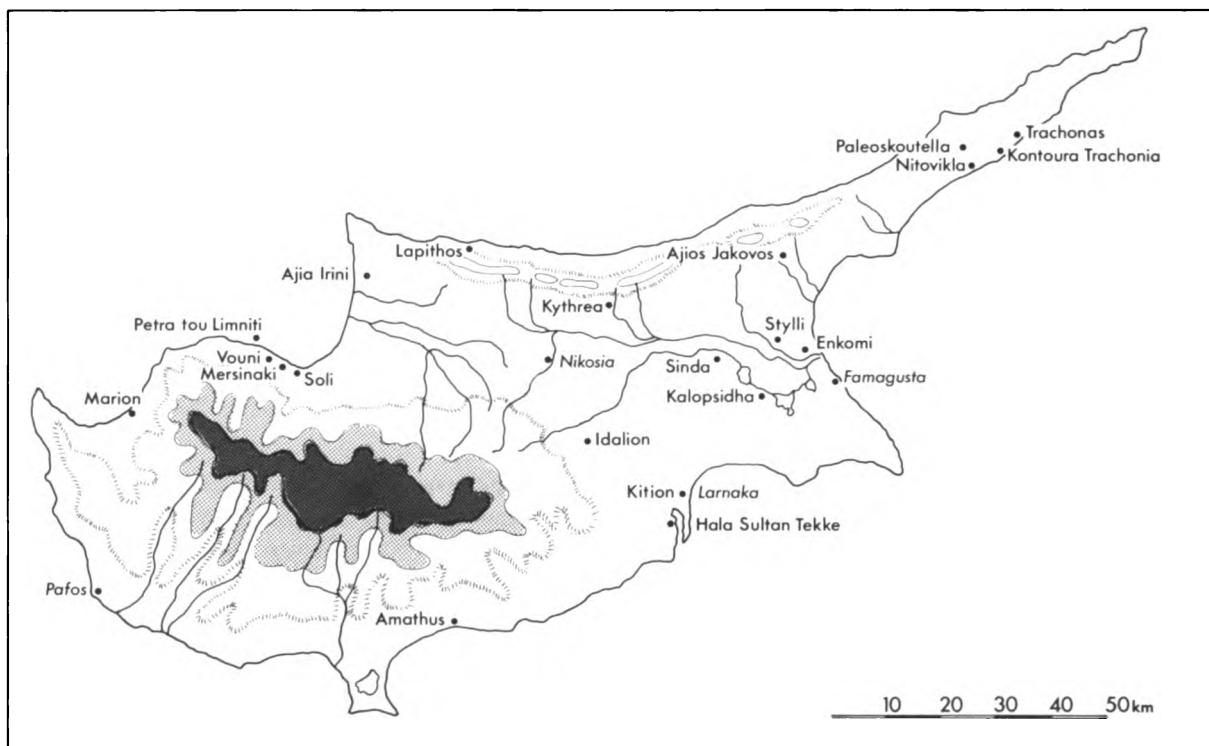


Fig. 1. Map showing the eighteen excavation sites of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition as well as Sinda (Furumark), Kalopsidha (Gjerstad, Åström) and Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström). Moreover, the cities of Nicosia, Famagusta and Pafos are marked.

to lend me a few pounds and nobody was willing to help me. Here I found a foreigner who has confidence in me." I got some looks full of contempt and compassion, and my colleague suspected that I should never see that money again. At Nisch our carriages took different directions.

We arrived at Athens and stayed for some days, but no letter arrived from Constantinople. I cannot deny that I started to repent of my credulity, especially as my colleague became more and more sarcastic after each visit to the post-office. We went to Crete and stayed for eight days. On our return to Athens, the letter was waiting for us. We went to Asine and started our excavation campaign. Two weeks later, an official invitation arrived from the Archaeological Council in Cyprus to me or to the person I wanted to send in my place to work there under favourable conditions. I turned to one of our assistants, Einar Gjerstad, whom I had thought about when Pierides first brought up the

question, and asked him if he was interested. He immediately declared that he was.

During the following months letters came from Cyprus nearly every second week asking when the Swedish archaeologist was coming. After we came home to Sweden, a letter arrived from a freight company in Alexandria with the information that boxes weighing 350 kg and containing Cypriote antiquities had left on a Swedish ship addressed to the Crown Prince.

Some months later Einar Gjerstad went to Cyprus, where for 16 months he studied Cypriote antiquities and also made investigations in the field, all the time supported by Pierides in the most generous way. During Gjerstad's stay in Cyprus the plan for a Swedish excavation project matured. He explained to Pierides that Swedish excavations on the island could hardly be realized before the archaeological law was changed, so that the excavator received part of the finds. Pierides immediately took up the pro-



blem and after some time there came the information that the law had been changed in accordance with the Swedish wishes. Thus, the Swedish excavations, which have recently been finished, were realized, beginning in the autumn of 1927. At the division of the finds from the excavations, 7500 large and small objects of different kinds were given to Sweden. They have just arrived in Stockholm.

Persson ended the story with the following words: "This is the prehistory of the Cyprus excavations. High interest on the small loan."

To return to Einar Gjerstad's first visit to Cyprus in 1923-4, he not only studied in the museums but also undertook several excavations. At the excavations at Frenaros evidence of the Cypriote Neolithic civilization was discovered for the first time. In Alambra Gjerstad excavated a house dating from the Early Cypriote Bronze Age and in Kalopsidha a Middle Cypriote one. At Nikolidhes a Late Cypriote fortification was discovered.

Although Luigi Palma di Cesnola, M. Ohne-falsch-Richter and especially John L. Myres had earlier made great efforts, it was only by the publication of Gjerstad's first studies and excavations in his Uppsala dissertation entitled *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* in 1926 that the real scientific foundations of the Cypriote Bronze Age were laid.

After having finished his thesis, Gjerstad started preparations for a major archaeological expedition to Cyprus, which through extensive excavations of settlements, temples and tombs was to collect representative material of monuments and finds from the Stone Age to Roman times, a period of more than 5000 years. A committee was formed for the administration of the expedition under the chairmanship of Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf. Private donors gave generous contributions and at the end of the excavations the Swedish State helped to cover the expenses.

In the autumn of 1927 the Swedish Cyprus Expedition departed for Cyprus. It included as leaders Einar Gjerstad, Alfred Westholm, Erik Sjöqvist and the architect John Lindros. The excavations of the Expedition continued for four years until 1931 and were carried out at the following sites: Ajia Irini,

Ajios Jakovos, Amathus, Enkomi, Idalion, Kition, Kountoura Trachonia, Kythrea, Lapithos, Marion, Mersinaki, Nitovikla, Paleoskoutella, Petra tou Limniti, Soli, Stylli, Trachonas and Vouni (*Fig. 1*).

The earliest remains were found on the small, rocky island of Petra tou Limniti on the north-western coast, where finds from the pre-ceramic, Neolithic period were discovered. A later Neolithic phase, when pottery had replaced the earlier stone vases, was brought to light at Kythrea and at Lapithos.

Lapithos is also an important site for tombs dating from the Bronze Age, of which many were excavated by the Expedition, especially early Cypriote ones (2300-1900 B.C.). Tombs from the Middle Cypriote Bronze Age (1900-1600 B.C.) were found also at Paleoskoutella, while tombs from both the Middle and the Late Bronze Age (1600-1050 B.C.) were excavated at Ajios Jakovos. An interesting fortress from the beginning of the Late Bronze Age was excavated at Nitovikla.

Important excavations were carried out at Enkomi, where rich tombs from the Late Bronze Age containing objects of gold, silver and ivory and hundreds of vases were found. In addition to native pottery a large quantity of Greek Mycenaean pottery was found, showing the Mycenaean contacts at the site.

Towards the end of the Bronze Age, c. 1200 B.C., Mycenaean colonists immigrated to Cyprus. This could be proved by the discovery of chamber tombs of Mycenaean type at Lapithos.

Through the excavations of the Iron Age necropolis at Lapithos, the excavators could get a clear picture of the development of the pottery.

In northern and western Cyprus, at Lapithos and at Marion, the Greek cultural influence was strongest, while the Phoenicians influenced the people of the southern coast, where the excavations at Amathus and at Kition, the most important Phoenician town in Cyprus, demonstrated the importance of the Phoenician culture on the island. At Stylli Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf took part in the excavations of tombs from the Iron Age.

The largest single find of the Expedition was the votive material discovered at the cult site at Ajia Irini. Here more than 2000 terracotta statues and statuettes



Fig. 2. The cult site at Ajia Irini.

were found, placed in a half-circle around an altar (Fig. 2). They can be dated to the Cypro-Archaic period, mainly to 650-500 B.C.

Sculptures from later periods, of stone as well as of terracotta, were found at Vouni, Soli, Mersinaki and Kition.

The most important building excavated by the Expedition was the Palace at Vouni, situated on a hill 270 m above sea-level on the north-western coast (Fig. 3). The original palace, dating from c. 500 B.C., had its entrance in the south-west, and in the north-east, on the other side of the central court, the rooms were arranged according to the principle of the oriental *liwan*-house. At a major rebuilding of the palace in the middle of the 5th century B.C. (period 3), the plan was changed in that a new entrance was

constructed in the north-western corner of the palace, while the earlier entrance was closed. Thus, the part of the palace from the monumental staircase of the central court to the old, closed entrance constituted a Greek megaron-room system. Gjerstad referred the introduction of these Greek traits into the earlier, oriental palace to the appearance of a new, Greek-inspired king in connection with the attack on Cyprus of the Athenian fleet under Kimon in 449 B.C.

Among the finds at Vouni, the following may be mentioned: the Vouni kore, the Vouni head (Fig. 4) and the Vouni treasure. This treasure was hidden under a staircase and consisted of three silver bowls, four gold bracelets, 15 silver bracelets, 249 silver coins, four gold coins and a few, smaller pieces of gold and silver. When the palace was destroyed





Fig. 3. The Palace at Vouni.

c. 380 B.C., the treasure had been buried under the remains of walls.

Not far from Vouni is the site of Soli, where the Expedition excavated temples of the Hellenistic and Roman periods as well as a Roman theatre.

It was a remarkable achievement to complete such extensive excavations at nearly 20 different sites in so short time as four years. Not less remarkable was the prompt publication of the excavated material by Gjerstad, Westholm and Sjöqvist in three volumes, each of them consisting of a text and a volume of plates, altogether more than 2000 pages and 600 plates. The *Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE)* I appeared in 1934, *SCE* II in 1935 and *SCE* III in 1937. These were followed by volumes of synthesis written by Gjerstad, as well as by his students and Swedish and foreign colleagues. The whole series was completed in 1972.

Gjerstad published *SCE* IV:2 on the Cypriote Iron Age down to the beginning of the Hellenistic period in 1948. In the *Medelhavsmuseet* Memoir 2, 1977, entitled *Cypriote antiquities in the Medelhavs-*

*museet*, Stockholm, published on the occasion of Gjerstad's 80th birthday, Vassos Karageorghis called this volume "the Bible of Cypriote archaeology".

In the same volume Karageorghis mentioned how Gjerstad described the Cypriote culture in the introduction to the first volume and wrote as follows:

Gjerstad was the first to recognize in all its aspects the dynamic qualities and the originality of the Cypriote culture, unlike his contemporary Sir George Hill, who tried to minimize these qualities in his book *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1948. This is how Gjerstad describes epigrammatically the character of the Cypriote culture in the introduction to the first volume of the *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, p. 1: "From its geographical position, the island of Cyprus was naturally destined to play an important role in the history of ancient civilization. It served as a connecting link between the Orient and the Occident, its culture was exposed to various waves of influence from the highly developed



neighbouring civilizations of Anatolia, Syria, Egypt, Ionia and Greece, and the interrelations of many of the essential features of these cultures can therefore be well studied in Cyprus. The importance of Cypriote civilization is not, however, restricted to its role of intermediary of culture. Cyprus was also a creator of culture and possessed an indigenous civilization which at different times reached a high standard. True, Cypriote culture has not the monumentality of the Egyptian and Mesopotamian civilizations and Cyprus did not possess the neocreative power of Greece, but its products are equal to and in several respects surpass in quality those of the other cultures that flourished around the Mediterranean before the Roman Empire."

Swedish archaeological activity in Cyprus did not cease with the completion of the work of the Expedition. After the Second World War, Swedish excavations were resumed by Professor Arne Furumark, of the University of Uppsala, at Sinda in 1947-8. These excavations increased our knowledge of Greek immigration to Cyprus between 1250 and 1150 B.C.

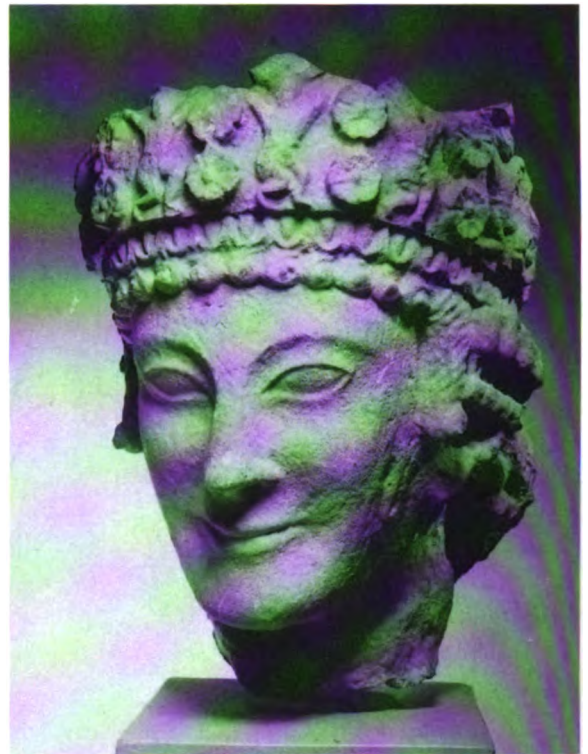


Fig. 4. The Vouni head.



Fig. 5. The Oxenstierna Manor, Stockholm. Archives of the SCE.





Fig. 6. Alfred Westholm and some Red Polished vases from the Early Cypriote Bronze Age. Archives of the SCE.

Later on Professor Paul Åström of the University of Gothenburg was the major promotor of Swedish archaeological interests in Cyprus. In 1959 he undertook excavations at Kalopsidha and at Ajios Jakovos, in order to get stratigraphical evidence of settlements of the Middle and the Late Bronze Age. Since 1971 he and his students have been carrying out excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke near the Larnaca Salt Lake, where parts of a harbour town dating from the Late Bronze Age have been excavated.

After their arrival to Stockholm in 1931, the Cyprus Collections were stored in premises belonging to the General Directorate of Antiquities. This Directorate

was located in a former artillery barracks. Beside its courtyard were the remaining parts of the Oxenstierna Manor dating from the 1780's (*Fig. 5*). Here the Cyprus Collections were housed during the 1930's and the offices stayed here until 1982.

During the 1930's an enormous amount of conservation work took place under the direction of Alfred Westholm, who was Director of the Cyprus Collections from 1934 to 1945. Hundreds of vases were restored during this period. A specialist in this work was Toulis Souidos, who had followed the Expedition from Cyprus and who stayed in Sweden for the rest of his life. The draughtsman was the skilful Bror Millberg. During these years the immense work of publishing the material excavated





Figs. 7-8. Toulis Souidos in the workshop. Archives of the SCE.

by Gjerstad, Westholm and Sjöqvist took place under rather primitive conditions (*Figs. 6-8*). There was no central heating in the Manor and the scholars even had to wear gloves inside the house during the winter. On the other hand, the work was more pleasant in the summer in the shadow of the big linden trees on the courtyard of the Manor.

In 1940 the Cyprus Collections were moved to the regiment building and in 1944 to the basement of the newly-built, adjacent Historiska Museet, that is, the Museum of National Antiquities, where they stayed until 1982. In this Museum a few objects from these Collections were also exhibited over the decades, but the major part of the material was kept in the



Fig. 9. Red Polished vases (upper and lower shelves) as they were kept in the basement store-rooms of the Museum of National Antiquities from 1944 to 1982. Archives of the SCE.



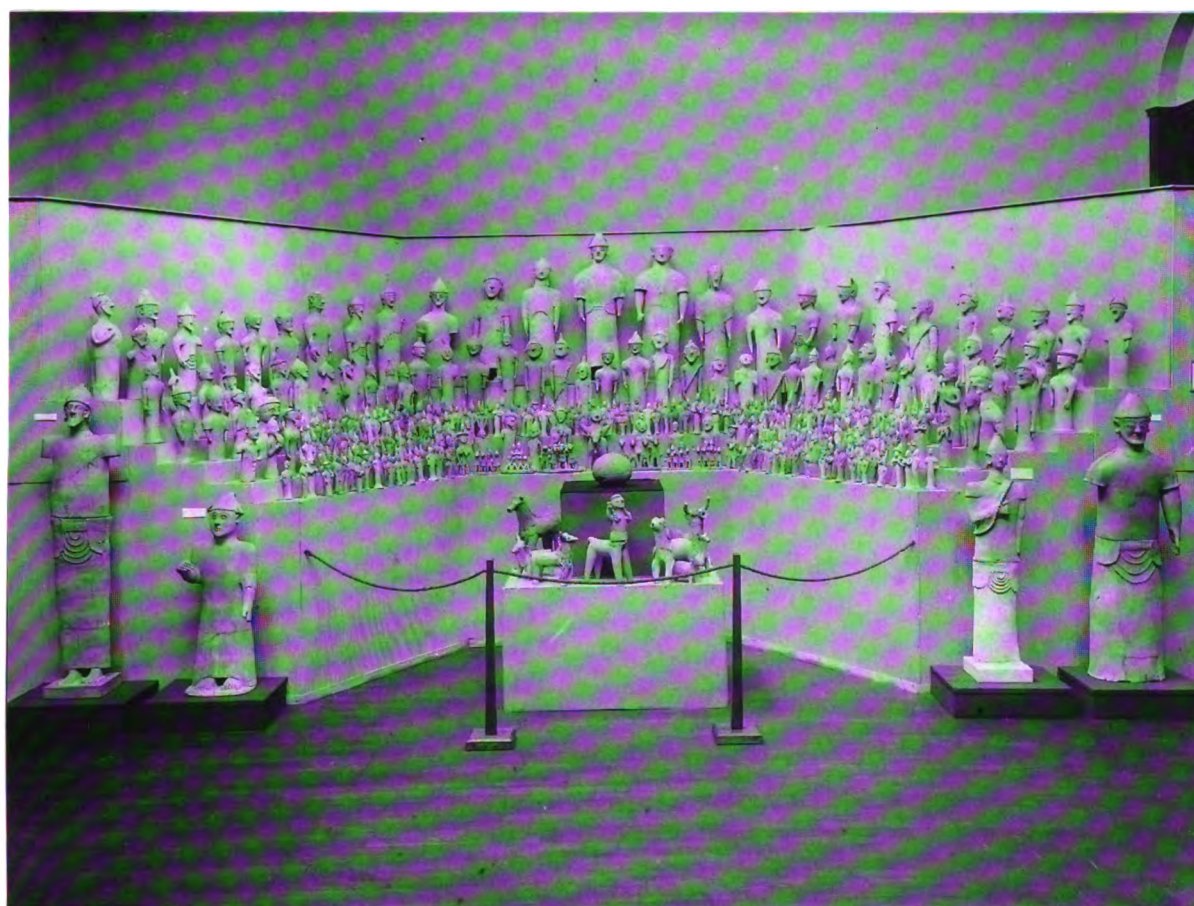


Fig. 10. The Ajia Irini group at the exhibition in the Liljevalch Art Gallery in 1933. Archives of the SCE.

basement storerooms (*Fig. 9*). It can be added that a large exhibition of the Cyprus Collections was shown in the Liljevalch Art Gallery in Stockholm shortly after their arrival in Sweden (*Fig. 10*).

In the meantime great efforts were made to get premises for the Cypriote and other Mediterranean collections in Stockholm. A state commission worked on the question in 1935-6 and its work was continued by the former Director of Antiquities, Sigurd Curman, who published a report in 1951.

Curman's conclusion was that the Cyprus Collections and the other Mediterranean collections should be united with the Egyptian Museum, which had been located in the Old City since 1929 and that all these collections should be located in the east-side stables of the barracks, in accordance with the detailed plans published in Curman's report. On the

basis of this report, the Medelhavsmuseet was founded in 1954, when the Cyprus Collections and the Egyptian Museum were administratively united.

In 1945 Olof Vessberg became Director of the Cyprus Collections and stayed, except for a couple of years, until 1970, being Director of the whole Medelhavsmuseet for 16 years.

When I succeeded Vessberg in 1971, the problem of premises for the collections was still unsolved. I decided to continue the work in accordance with Curman's proposals. However, the planning of the new Museum was very much delayed and, when it was finished, no funds for the building were included in the state budget for 1981.

The National Board of Public Building, which was just as disappointed as the Museum, now offered premises in the centre of the city at Gustav Adolf





Fig. 11. Einar Gjerstad, H.M. King Carl XVI Gustaf, Carl-Gustaf Styrenius, Minister of Education Jan-Erik Wikström and Alfred Westholm looking at the Ajia Irini group at the inauguration of the Medelhavsmuseet on September 16th 1982.

Square, beside the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and opposite the Opera. They were in a former mortgage bank founded by Henrik Palme, the brother of the grandfather of the late Prime Minister, Olof Palme. In 1905 the central banking hall had been built as a copy of the open court of the Palazzo Bevilacqua in Bologna, a renaissance palace dating from the 1480's.

On the 16th of September 1982, the new premises of the Medelhavsmuseet were inaugurated in the presence of H.M. King Carl XVI Gustaf, the Minister

of Education, Jan-Erik Wikström, and two members of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Einar Gjerstad and Alfred Westholm (*Fig. 11*). Thus, for the first time, the most important parts of the Cyprus Collections could be placed on permanent exhibition. In the central hall several hundreds of the Ajia Irini statues and statuettes were exhibited (*Fig. 12*), together with the Vouni head, the Vouni kore and the architectural model of the palace.

A few years later, in a major remodelling of the Museum in 1989, the Cypriote exhibition was moved



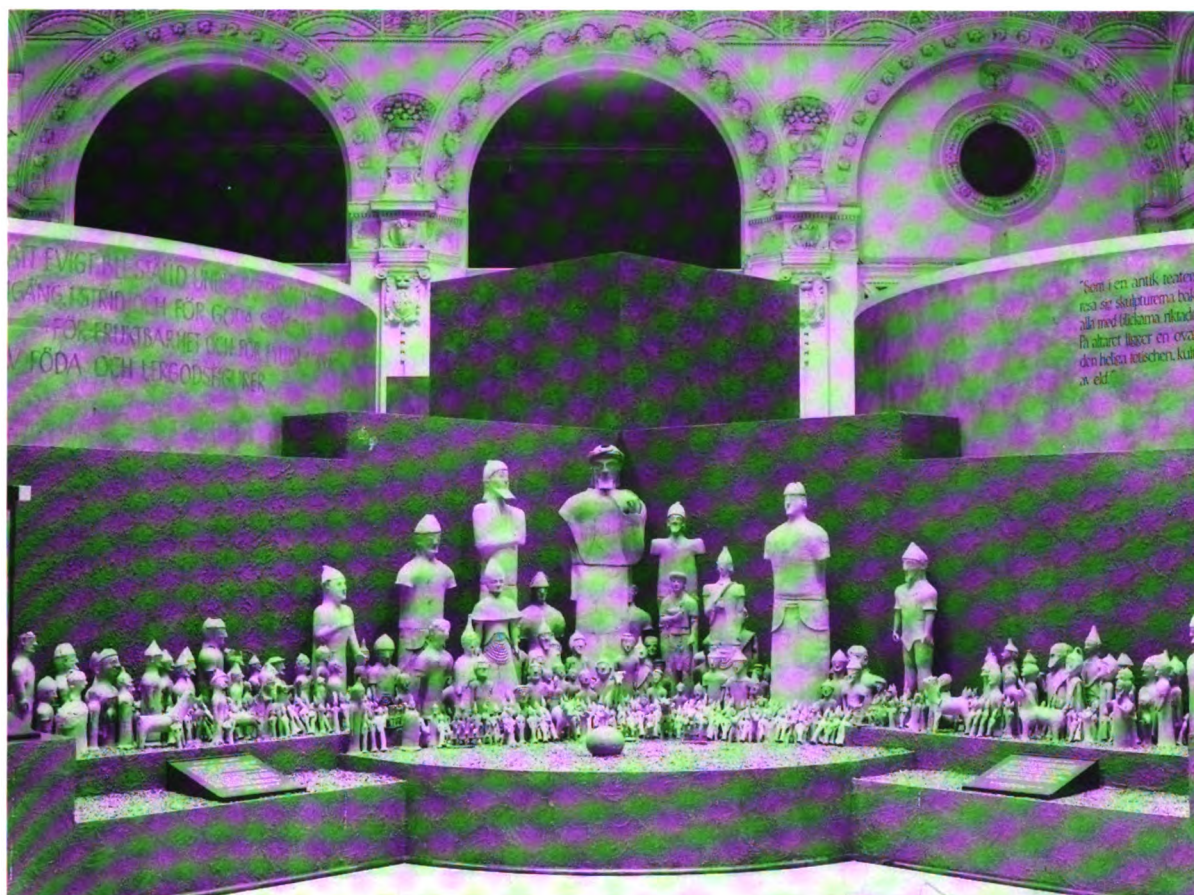


Fig. 12. The Ajia Irini group as exhibited in the new premises of the Medelhavsmuseet 1982–1988.

to a department of its own with a larger exhibition area. The Ajia Irini group was then placed in a special, air-conditioned showcase (cf. below, p. 26, and Fig. 3 on p. 21).

Thus, more than half a century after the arrival in Sweden of the Cyprus Collections, many of the problems connected with the preservation of material from a huge, Swedish, archaeological excavation abroad have finally been satisfactorily solved under the auspices of the Medelhavsmuseet.

Though there was a considerable lapse of time before exhibition premises could be obtained, we can now be satisfied that representative parts of the Collections are on exhibition. As regards the stored Collections, it will be a constant concern of the Museum that they shall be maintained in a way which will guarantee their preservation for the future.

*Carl-Gustaf Styrenius*  
Medelhavsmuseet



# The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet

Marie-Louise Winbladh

The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet are the largest and most important collections of Cypriote antiquities in the world outside Cyprus. There are smaller, but also important collections in the Metropolitan Museum in New York and in the British Museum. These, however, often lack a body of vital information in the shape of scholarly documentation of the find contexts. Therefore the material in the Medelhavsmuseet, together with the relative archives, is an inexhaustible research-source for scholars from all over the world.

## The Collections

The Swedish Cyprus Expedition excavated on a large scale throughout the island between 1927 and 1931. The archaeological remains covered the entire period from the Neolithic to Roman times. The main part of the finds, or about 10,000 vases, derived from nearly 300 rock-cut chamber tombs. Thousands of sculptures were found in sanctuaries or on temple sites. Settlements, fortresses, a royal palace and a Roman theatre also yielded important finds. In addition to pottery and sculpture, objects made of metal, ivory, glass and stone were found. The results of the excavations were published in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vols. I-IV:3 (E. Gjerstad *et al.*), Stockholm and Lund 1934-1972 (SCE).

The Cyprus Collections consist basically of finds made by the Expedition. The total number of finds from the excavations was c. 18,000, and the number received by the Swedes was about 12,000 or 65%. In

addition, there was an extensive sherd material, now kept in 5000 boxes in the storerooms of the Museum. The greater part of this material is now in Stockholm. Exceptions are some pottery and statuettes, acquired by purchase, and some less important finds from Kition, Mersinaki, Ajia Irini and Enkomi that the Expedition gave away to persons who contributed to the funds of the Swedish excavations. The members of the Expedition were further allowed to sell about 5% of the finds to Swedish institutes or individual museums, in order to raise funds for the conservation and scholarly treatment of the material. Some tomb groups and sculpture were therefore deposited in Lund, Malmö, Uppsala and Copenhagen in the 1930s, to be included in their exhibitions.

The collections of the Medelhavsmuseet include about 7 000 Cypriote vases, ranging from Chalcolithic to Roman times and giving a general view of the art and culture of Cyprus in ancient times. A very large collection of magnificent, Red Polished pottery from the important necropolis at Lapithos is eloquent evidence of the skill and imagination of the potters in the Early Cypriote Bronze Age period (*Fig. 1*). Equally grandiose are the much later Mycenaean kraters or wine bowls (*Fig. 2*). These huge and impressive vases come from the rich tombs at Enkomi. Research on the kraters continues, as regards both the place of manufacture and the remarkable decoration. The rich Lapithos tombs have further yielded large numbers of tools, swords, daggers and knives with rat-tail tangs, toggle pins, tweezers and rings, cast in arsenic copper and bronze. The material also comprises jewelry, glass and a





Fig. 1. Red Polished III jug.

Very wide funnel rim. Vertical handle from rim to shoulder (restored) and horizontal, pierced handle on shoulder. The entire surface is decorated with incised motifs: sets of horizontal lines, friezes of concentric semicircles and panels of concentric lozenges. Ht 38 cm. Lapithos, Tomb 309 A, no. 32. Early Cypriote III, c. 2000 B.C.

large number of sculptures and artifacts of stone and terracotta. The sculptures which show obvious connections with the Syrio-Anatolian region, and later Egypt and Ionia, are of special interest. Of great importance is also the Hellenistic material, influenced by the sculpture in the artistic centres of Alexandria in Egypt and Pergamon in Asia Minor. The development of the glass industry on the island is illustrated by the Roman glass finds from various sites.

Before the famous expedition took place, Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf received in 1925 as a gift from the Swedish consul, Luke Z. Pierides, a collection of 130 Cypriote vases dating from different periods. The majority of these vases were presented to the

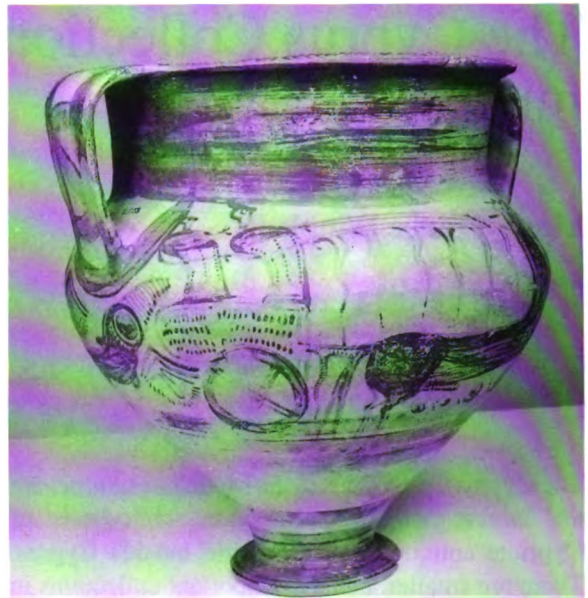


Fig. 2. Mycenaean III B amphoroid crater.

The body zones on both sides have similar decoration: a chariot with two charioteers (one is driving) led by a pair of horses. Tassels hang from the reins. Various filler motifs include spirals below the horses, stylized porpoises, nautilus and floral motifs below the handles and dotted circles and lozenges. Part of body restored. Ht 39 cm. Enkomi, Tomb 11, no. 33. Late Cypriote II, c. 1450-1200 B.C.

Museum of National Antiquities in 1926 and were later transferred to the Medelhavsmuseet. Another 30 of these vases were given to the National Museum in the same year and are now kept in the Medelhavsmuseet as a deposit.

The Cyprus Collections include further material, not only consisting of gifts and purchases, but also deriving from excavations outside the framework of the Expedition proper. Most of this material has not been published in the *SCE*.

In 1926, a group of vases and 60 boxes of sherds dating from the Middle Cypriote period were presented to the Museum of National Antiquities by Einar Gjerstad. This important material had been found during



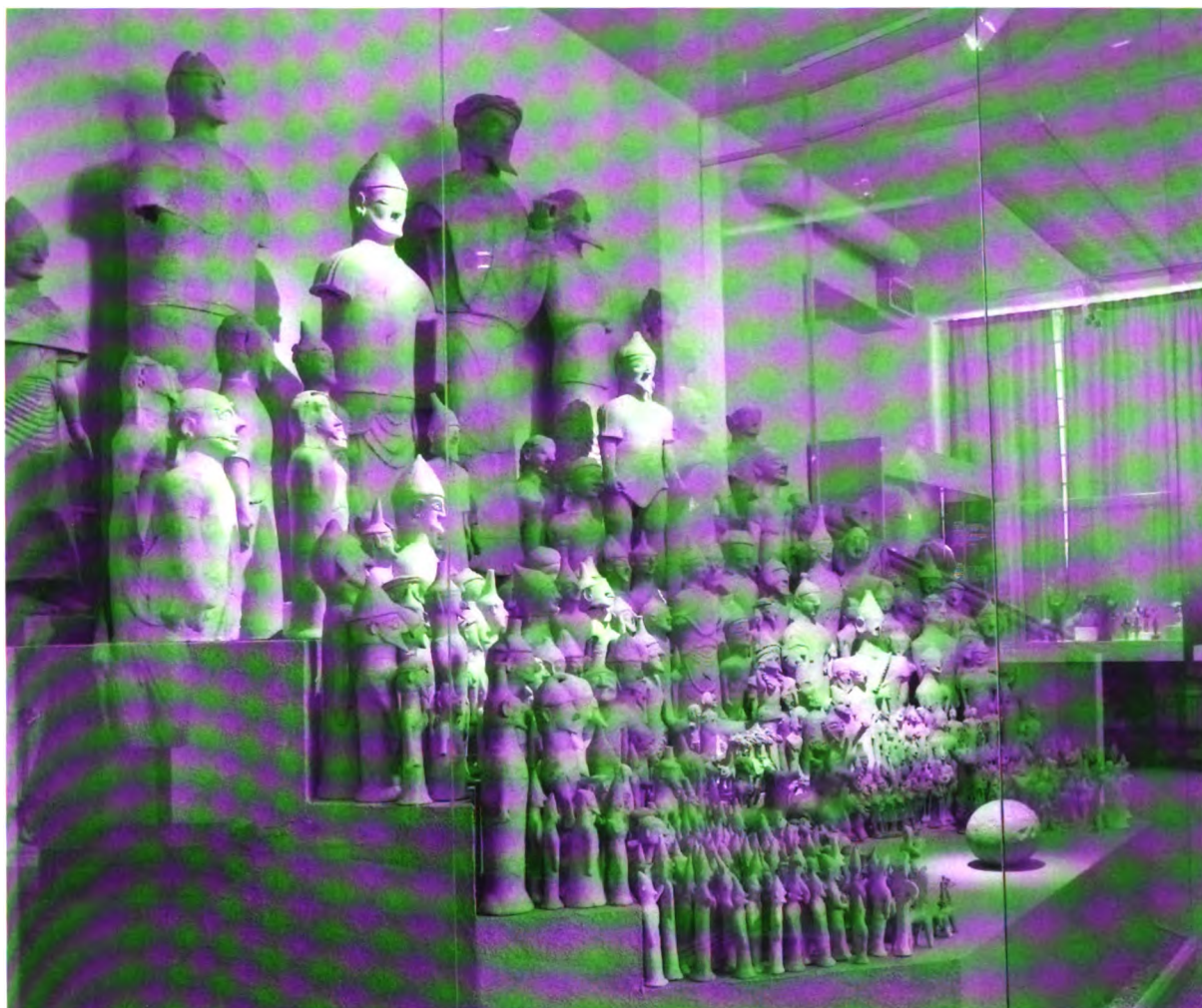


Fig. 3. Terracottas from the rural sanctuary at Ajia Irini, c. 650-500 B.C.

Gjerstad's excavation at the settlement of Kalopsidha in 1923-5 and now has the inv. no. MM 1956:328.

The above-mentioned collections of Cypriote vases, given by Luke Z. Pierides, have inv. nos. MM SHM 17946:1-97 and NM Ant 1719-1748 respectively.

Additional Cypriote material was acquired by the Expedition during the years 1931 to 1954 and was catalogued separately.

Several vases were successively reconstructed from the extensive sherd material collected by the Expedition: 56 of these restored vases come from Enkomi Tomb 3 (inv. nos. Acc 712 a-m, 958, 961, 964, 965), Tomb 7 (inv. nos. Acc 355 a-i, k-y, 681, 682, 713 a-g, 960), Tomb 11 (inv. nos. Acc 708, 953-955, 959) and Tomb 13 (inv. no. Acc 714). Five vases have been

reconstructed from sherds from Lapithos, Tombs 313 B and 315 B-C (inv. nos. Acc 673-676, 677). One pot comes from Ajia Irini (inv. no. Acc 715).

Numerous vases were found during other, regular, Swedish excavations on Cyprus but are not published in the *SCE*. The material comes from Gallinoporni, Kalopsidha, Lapithos, Marion and Milia (inv. nos. Acc 247, 367, 693, 950-952, 956, 957).

More than 300 Cypriote vases were further catalogued in the 1930s. Most of them were gifts or purchases and some were stray finds from the Swedish excavations at Enkomi, Ajia Irini, Marion and Vouni.

Complete lists of all the finds in the Cyprus Collections in Sweden have been published by K.Andersson, 'The Cyprus Collection in the Museum



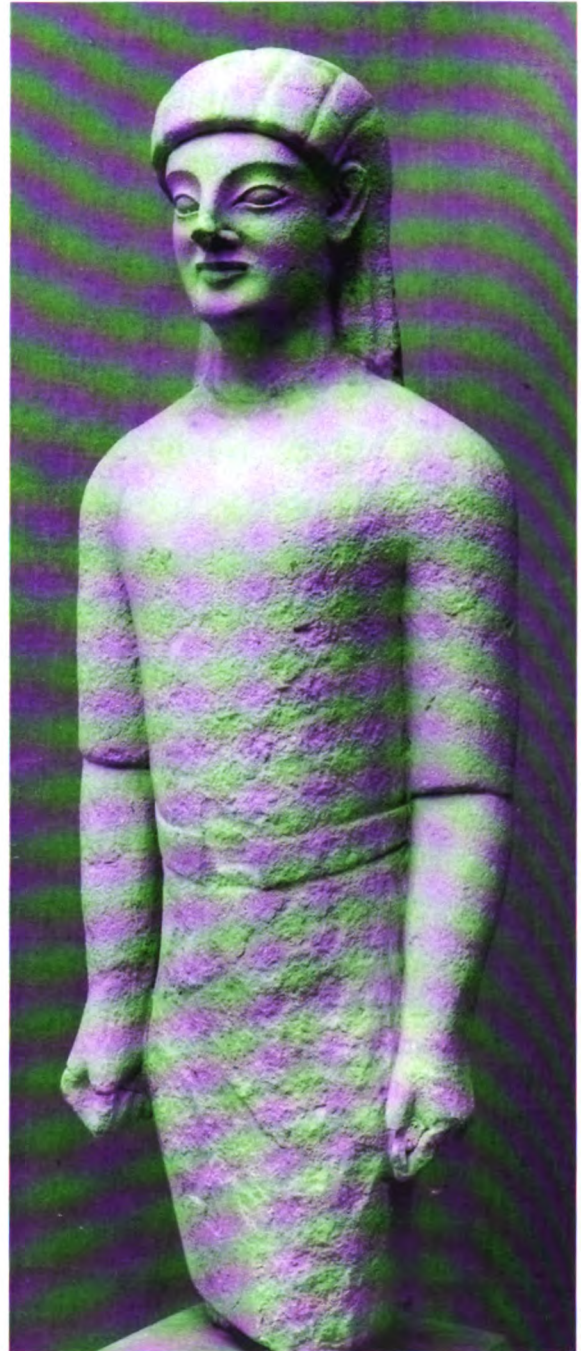


Fig. 4. Two limestone statuettes showing Greek and Egyptian influence. From a temple site in the town of Kition. Archaic Cypro-Greek style, 5th century B.C. Kition 541+278 and Kition 254+350.

of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm', *MedMusB* 17, 1982, 17-29.

*Finds in the Cyprus Collections deposited at other museums and institutions in the 1930s*

- a. Lund University, Institute of Classical Studies  
Tomb groups from Lapithos, Enkomi, Marion and Amathus, terracottas from Ajia Irini, stone sculpture from Kition and Mersinaki.
- b. Malmö Museum  
Tomb groups from Lapithos, Amathus and Marion, terracottas from Ajia Irini, stone sculpture from Kition and terracottas from Mersinaki.
- c. Uppsala University, Institute of Ancient Culture and Civilization  
Tomb groups from Lapithos, Enkomi, Amathus and Marion, terracottas from Ajia Irini, stone sculpture from Kition and Mersinaki.
- d. Copenhagen, National Museum  
Tomb groups from Lapithos, Kontoura Trachonia and Marion.

*Later deposits in the 1970s*

- a. Göteborg, Röhsska Museet  
Terracottas from Ajia Irini.
- b. University of Göteborg, Institute of Classical Studies  
Pots belonging to the collection of MM SHM 17946.
- c. Umeå University  
Mycenaean vases from Ajios Jakovos, terracottas from Ajia Irini and Mersinaki.

## The present Cypriote exhibition

From 1931 onwards, the Cyprus Collections were housed in different premises connected with the General Directorate of Antiquities and the Museum of National Antiquities. It was then possible to exhibit at most a small part to the general public (cf. above, p. 14). From 1954, the Collections formed part of the newly founded Medelhavsmuseet. Only in 1982, when the Museum was established in a former mortgage bank (*ibid.*), was it possible to give them a more generous, permanent exhibition. Still, the actual exhibition comprises only a choice part of the entire material, while the rest is kept in the storerooms.

The exhibition is arranged in two rooms, with the objects in showcases or as free-standing sculptures. The main theme in the exhibition is religion, as represented in the large room by the votive sculptures in limestone and terracotta from Ajia Irini, Kition and Mersinaki. The figures vary in size from miniature to over life-size. The terracottas from Ajia Irini are exhibited in a huge showcase, which immediately catches the attention of the visitor (*Fig. 3*). Around the votive figures from Ajia Irini are groups of showcases and sculpture from Kition, Mersinaki and other sites.

The sanctuary at Ajia Irini was excavated by the Expedition in 1930. The most important period of the site was from the Cypro-Geometric II to the Cypro-Archaic (c. 950-475 B.C.), when it was an open-air sanctuary of the temenos type. Like some other Archaic sanctuaries, it was built over a site dating from the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. About 2000 terracottas were found at Ajia Irini in their original positions, standing in semicircles around an altar. Most of the terracottas are male figures, but there are also war chariots drawn by horses, riders, ring dancers, bulls and "minotaurs" (a crossbreed of bull and man). The majority of the male figures stand in frontal positions and are dressed in long garments. They also wear helmets or conical caps with cheek-pieces. Many of them are bearded and some wear earrings. A few figures carry votive offerings, while others hold flutes and tambourines. Several terracottas have a lively facial expression and show great individuality.

The sanctuary at Ajia Irini is characteristic of the rural cult, based on the worship of a divinity of fertility, found in various parts of the island. The god of Ajia Irini was further connected with cattle and war. The finds belong to the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods. About half of the figures belong to the Medelhavsmuseet, while the rest are in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. In Stockholm, most of them are now exhibited as they were found, grouped around the cult stone, which was found close to the altar and was believed to have inherent powers of fertility.

The site of Ajia Irini is representative of the cult centres of provincial inland settlements. Distinct from these are the more monumental temples of the towns, for example Kition.





Fig. 5. Life-size statues of terracotta from Mersinaki (right). 6th-5th century B.C.

On the acropolis of Kition, the Phoenicians erected a temple to Melqart, the patron-god of the town. The first sanctuary consisted of an open temenos area with a roofed cella (the central room in a Greek temple). The open court contained the altar and the votive offerings. All the offerings were found in one pit but can be divided into stylistic groups from the Cypro-Archaic II to the Cypro-Classical I period (c. 600-400 B.C.).

The ancient Kitians dedicated votive offerings in limestone to their god, and the sculpture is quite different when compared with that of the small terracottas from Ajia Irini, made in the "snowman" technique. The cult at Kition was probably of a more official character. The sculpture is more sophis-

ticated, showing influences from both Egypt, Ionia and mainland Greece (*Fig. 4*).

Several statuettes represent Melqart himself, dressed in the lion-skin and swinging the mace. Others show female and male votaries with offerings in their hands (a bird or goat) or with hands raised in adoration. Some of the figures are myrtle-wreathed and wear a schematized Greek dress.

At Mersinaki, there was an isolated sanctuary site dedicated to Apollo and Athena. A large amount of sculpture from the Cypro-Archaic to the Hellenistic period was found in pits, standing side by side. The votive offerings comprise mostly male statues, but also some female figures, chariot groups and figurines.



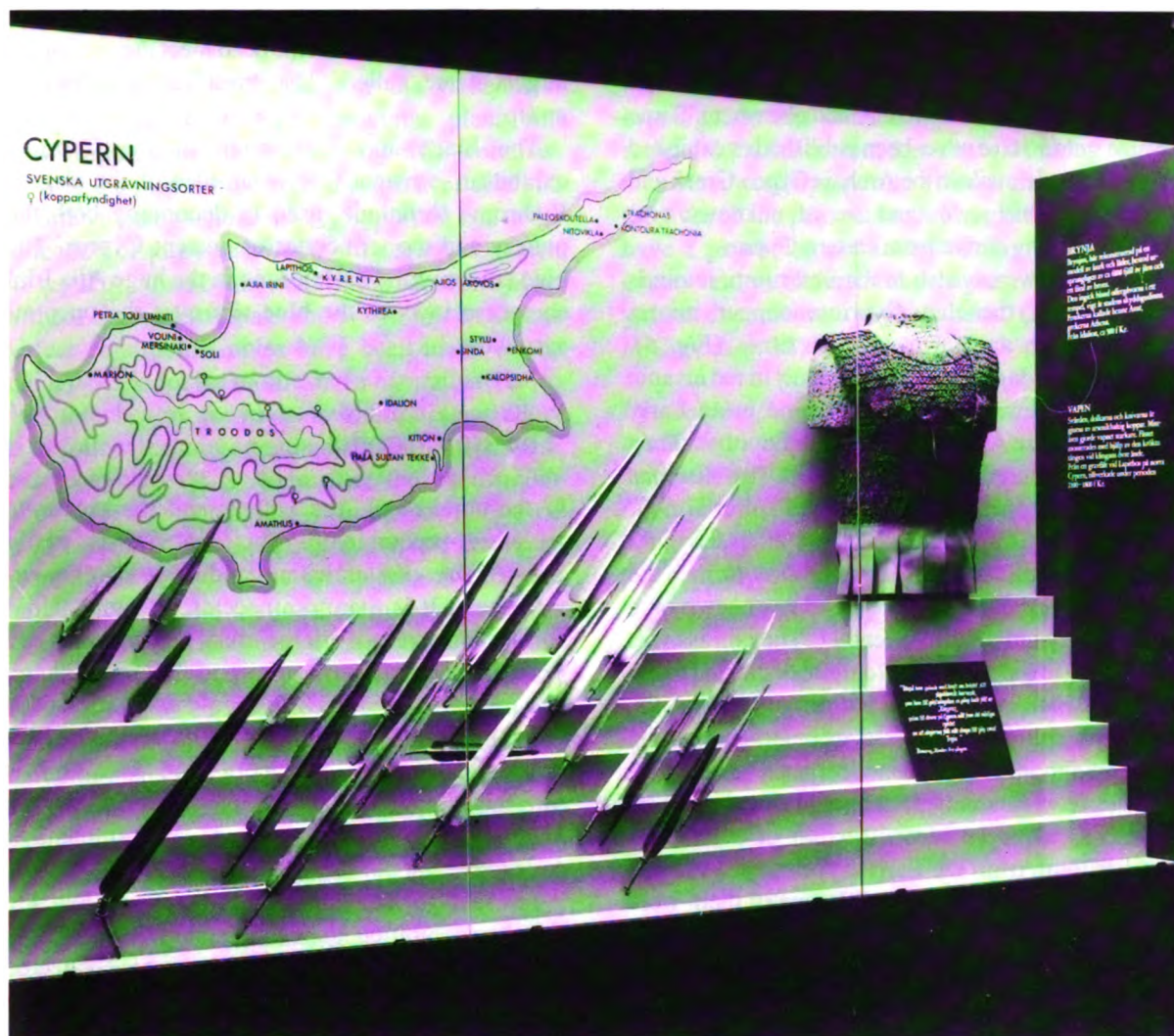


Fig. 6. Weapons of copper and bronze (c. 1900-1700 B.C.) from Lapithos and a cuirass of iron (5th century B.C.) from Idalion.

The sculptures are made of limestone or mould-made terracotta. They show a large variety of styles and date from between c. 500 and 150 B.C. The art of sculpture during the later periods became merely a traditional handicraft. Many sculptures appear as copies of Greek masterpieces. Famous is the Hellenistic statue of a youth from Mersinaki, somewhat larger than life-size and in pale yellow limestone. His voluminous body forms a great contrast to his weak features and somewhat dreamy

gaze. Quite different are the imposing, life-size, terracotta statues, also from Mersinaki but dating from an earlier period. They stand like guards along one wall in the exhibition, protecting both the votive offerings and the visitors (*Fig. 5*). The statues are all men with broad shoulders and stiff attitudes. They wear the Greek chiton and himation and their curly hair and beard are arranged in a Greek fashion, but their frontal position and severe expression are Cypriote. Some of them wear large boots.

In addition to the religious theme, a basic idea of the Cypriote exhibition is to show important items of the collection, unknown to scholars and visitors, i.e. limestone sculpture from Kition and elsewhere. Some life-size statues have never been published or exhibited before. They are made in the Archaic Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Hellenistic styles and are of unknown provenance but may derive from eastern Cyprus.

A large showcase, also in the first room, reminds the visitor of the rich Cypriote copper mines, exploited from ancient to modern times (*Fig. 6*). Large swords, daggers and knives, cast in red arsenic copper or yellow bronze, were found in an Early Cypriote Bronze Age necropolis near Lapithos. They were manufactured c. 2000-1800 B.C. The weapons are exhibited together with a unique splint armour dating from the 6th century B.C. Six thousand eight hundred iron splints, and a few of bronze, formed the body of the armour and were laced to or sewn on a lining of probably cloth or leather. The cuirass was found close to a sanctuary at Idalion, dedicated to the goddess Anath-Athena, the patron goddess of the town. The splint armour was reconstructed in the 1930s on a model of cork and leather.

In the second, smaller room, additional space is devoted to a partial reconstruction of a rock-cut chamber tomb from the Early Cypriote period. The tomb contained two chambers. In one of them were six burials. The grave goods originally consisted of 81 Red Polished vessels, daggers, a knife, a pair of tweezers, pins, spindle-whorls and a ring.

Last, but not least, the exhibition also attempts to give a survey of the historical and cultural development of Cyprus over a period of about 6000 years. In 15 showcases a variety of objects made of stone, pottery, metal and glass and dating from Neolithic to Roman times are arranged in a chronological sequence.

In the design of the exhibition, attention has been given to the first, larger room with its concentration on votive sculpture. This room is dominated by the big showcase with the Ajia Irini group. Just opposite is a construction with wide steps, where the visitor can sit down and meditate on the ancient Cypriotes of Ajia Irini and elsewhere. The steps also support the showcases with sculpture from Kition and Mersinaki. This construction is crowned by a

colossal, limestone male head from Kition. The large, prominent eyes of the head meet the eyes of the largest statue, called "The Priest", in the Ajia Irini group.

The black and red design of the Cypriote exhibition is meant to give an idea of the elegant Bichrome technique, used in decorating both the pottery and the terracottas of ancient Cyprus. The blue colour of the background in the huge Ajia Irini showcase invokes the blue sky over the open-air sanctuary.

## The store-rooms

In the storerooms, the pottery and the terracotta sculpture predominate. This material is easily affected by the climatic conditions of the environment. It is therefore necessary to maintain a correct and constant microclimate in showcases and storerooms where terracottas and pottery are kept. The relative humidity (RH) should not exceed 60% or fall below 40% and the variations have to be kept to a minimum, i.e. not more than 5%. This is extremely important, since the clay material from the Mediterranean countries contains large amounts of destructive salts.

In the Cypriote storeroom, directly below the Cypriote exhibition, there is a humidifier, regulating the RH to about 55%. This construction is connected with the Ajia Irini showcase via large tubes, thus also controlling the RH in the showcase.

The pottery in the storerooms is arranged on shelves, according to site and tomb-number. There are also large groups of vases acquired by donation or purchase (cf. above).

Sculptures from Ajia Irini, Mersinaki, Kition, etc. are placed on shelves and in drawers. Small finds of bone, ivory, stone and glass are likewise arranged in drawers. Metal objects of copper, bronze and lead are kept in a separate storeroom, where the RH should not exceed 20%. The microclimate is here regulated by a hygostat.

Much of the material of the Cyprus Collections, including the 5000 boxes with sherds, is otherwise still kept in cases and in different storerooms outside the Museum.

## The archives

The archives of the Expedition at the Medelhavsmuseet consist of original drawings, plans and photographs, now published in the *SCE* volumes. Most of the plans and diaries are still available and are often used by scholars. Very important is also the collection of more than 9000 old negatives, which are regularly used by the staff of the Museum. Most of them are made of glass and are still in an almost perfect condition. Copies have been made of the major part. As for the motifs, most naturally relate to sites, trench work and finds. In addition, some allow us to follow the conservation and publication work that took place in Sweden after the excavations (above, *Figs. 5–8* on pp. 12–14 and below, *Fig. 7* on p. 75). Some of the most interesting and charming photographs show people and places in different parts of Cyprus and the local circumstances under which the Swedes lived and worked (*Figs. 7–27* and below, *Figs. 4–6* on pp. 67–68). Magnificent topography and beautiful buildings, now lost for ever, are to be found. Old-fashioned methods of agriculture and camel caravans are often depicted. Other motifs are archaeologists and workers dancing and resting together or preparing parties. Many photographs give an informative picture of the hard work and daily life at the excavations about 60 years ago. There are several pictures of the first Volvo, manufactured in 1927 and given to the Swedish archaeologists. This car, called “Jacob”, is now exhibited in the Industrial Museum at Göteborg; “... our Volvo made its way along narrow, winding paths, until these too came to an end and the car had to steer out onto a field, proving its worth as a cross-country truck.” (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 51)

Einar Gjerstad was the head of the Expedition. In his book, *Ages and days in Cyprus* (Engl. transl., 1980), he has not only written a popular account of the excavations but has also given a very lively description of the everyday life of the archaeologists and the Cypriotes they met. The relation is spiced with a lot of humour and anecdotes. The Swedes met many remarkable personages and made friends everywhere. A quotation from Gjerstad’s book tells of his deep understanding of the possibilities of archaeology: “... It is clear, then, that an

archaeological expedition is not all excavation. It also includes conversations with people living near the excavation sites. When the archaeological investigation has been completed and everybody returns to the kafeneion, then the real talking begins. ... In other words, acquiring a thorough knowledge of the lives of the peasants today ought to enable us to have a psychological understanding of prehistoric events and to understand thoughts which have no written documents to explain them.” (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 78)

*Notebooks from the Swedish excavations, still available*

a. Sites published in the *SCE*

Petra tou Limniti, Lapithos, Kythrea, Ayios Jakovos (The Iron Age Sanctuary), Trachonas, Idalion, Kition, Vouni, Soli.

b. Sites not published in the *SCE*

Ajios Fokas, Milia, Oura.

*Drawings from the Swedish excavations, still available*

a. Field drawings: sites published in the *SCE*

All the sites published in the *SCE*, volumes I–III, although the material is not complete and some of the drawings are very fragmentary and in a bad condition. Furthermore, Ayia Faneromeni and Tamassos *Politiko*, *SCE*, volume IV, part 2 and Ayia Katerina, *SCE*, volume IV, part 3.

b. Field drawings: sites not published in the *SCE*

Milia, Oura, Korovia, Ayia Anna, Nisso.

c. Plans, sections, reconstructions etc. published in the *SCE*

The collections of drawings also comprise the originals for printing: plans of the architecture and the tombs from the excavated sites, and plans with many of the 18,000 finds shown *in situ*.



## Life of the Expedition in Cyprus

### FIGURES 7 – 27. ARCHIVES OF THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION

The quotations are taken from *Ages and days in Cyprus* by Einar Gjerstad (SIMA-PB, 12), Göteborg 1980.

Fig. 7. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition in front of their hut at Mersinaki: John Lindros (architect), Alfred Westholm, Erik Sjöqvist and Einar Gjerstad (1930).

In a strange dream, the Apostle St Andrew spoke to Gjerstad and told him where to excavate next: "One day when I was strolling along by the coast south of Soli, I saw a heathen cult-place with masses of statues. The place is called Mersinaki. Go there!" The excavation

started and the archaeologists did not have to wait long for results. "In the morning of June 13, 1930, Lazaros came to report that a large pit containing statues had been found. There proved to be not one pit, but several, all full of sculptures which had been cast in the pits indiscriminately" (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 139).



Fig. 7. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition in front of their hut at Mersinaki: John Lindros (architect), Alfred Westholm, Erik Sjöqvist and Einar Gjerstad (1930).





Fig. 8. Priest and workers at Ajia Irini.



Fig. 9. Giorkis in Lapithos (the Iron Age necropolis at Kastros in 1927).



Fig. 8. Priest and workers at Ajia Irini.

The dramatic excavation at Ajia Irini took place late in the autumn of 1929. The priest of the village, Papa Prokopius, had found lots of statuettes in his field and showed the Expedition where to excavate. The priest had saved this untouched sanctuary for the Swedes, and the looters around were furious. Another quotation from Gjerstad's book tells about the excavation of the site: "The magic excavation has started. Pointed helmets of terracotta appear. The knives dig deeper and stern, bearded faces come to light. There are complete statues. There is a whole forest of terracotta sculptures, 2000, 2000 of them. Papa Prokopius is jumping up and

down on the edge of the pit. His robe is flapping. The statues rise from the pit. Like bearded ghosts, they rise at his command" (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 108).

Fig. 9. Giorkis in Lapithos (the Iron Age necropolis at Kastros in 1927).

"The excavation of a Geometric, rock-cut chamber-tomb on Cyprus. The man was called Giorkis and was one of the most faithful workers of the Expedition. He had, after lifelong work in the Cypriote tombs, begun to sit like this on his heels, which he also used to practise when he wasn't underground" (Westholm's handwriting on the back of the old photograph).



Fig. 10. Christos and Westholm excavating Room 117 at the palace of Vouni (1928?).





Fig. 11. Sjöqvist excavating at Marion in 1929. Gjerstad visiting the site.



Fig. 12. Workers at Oura 1928.

Fig. 10. Christos and Westholm excavating Room 117 at the palace of Vouni (1928?).

This room was a cult chapel, where the votive sculptures were found in situ placed along the walls of the room. "... The scratch of the knife brought fourth a fragment of a robe, the rounding of the hips and the braided hair ... There were two sculptures, three sculptures, many of them. ... Most of them portrayed young women, dressed in a gracefully draped robe ..." (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 87).

Fig. 11. Sjöqvist excavating at Marion in 1929. Gjerstad visiting the site.

An episode at Marion made Sjöqvist the foster-father of a Cypriote girl. Her father had been killed while in the





Fig. 13. Nicosia. The Swedish Institute covered with snow. To the left Sjöqvist and Westholm.

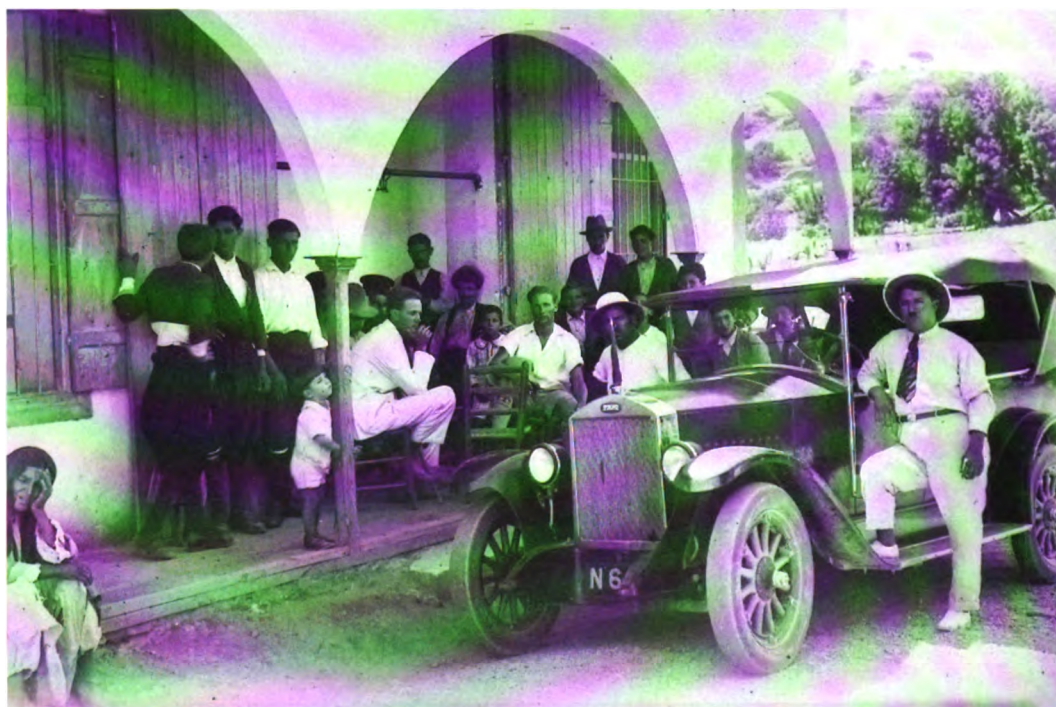


Fig. 14. The Volvo at the kafeneion in Pyrgos (close to Marion on the west coast).



service of the Expedition. The Expedition then had to take care of the girl and give her a dowry, so that she could get married. Sjöqvist had to approve one of the suitors (he choose a chauffeur) and the wedding went off merrily.

Fig. 12. Workers at Oura.

The archaic sanctuary of Oura at Karpassos was excavated in 1928. The results were never published because the remains and the sculptures found on the site were very damaged and disintegrated.

Fig. 13. Nicosia. The Swedish Institute covered with snow. To the left Sjöqvist and Westholm.

After each excavation the finds were transported to Nicosia. Here, a "Swedish Institute" gradually grew up, where the finds were cleaned, restored and examined. In the hall, there was a collection of statues. The work-room was a combined photographic studio, drawing office and writing room. Another four rooms were filled with antiquities.

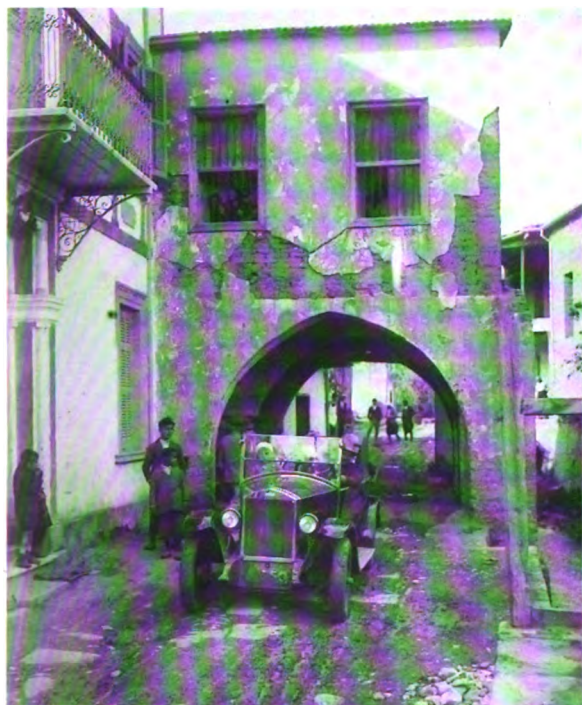


Fig. 15. The Volvo in the village of Kythrea.

Fig. 14. The Volvo at the kafeneion in Pyrgos (close to Marion on the west coast).

Fig. 15. The Volvo in the village of Kythrea.

In the spring of 1930, Westholm started excavations at Kythrea. Some kilometers east of the village was the abandoned chapel of St Phokas. The Saint received Westholm with great hospitality and invited him to stay in his church. "... he (St Phokas) had placed his church in the middle of a field with remains of a settlement from the Chalcolithic period ..." (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 26). Important finds were made at Kythrea with the help of the saint.

Fig. 16. Mandres (Ajios Jakovos). Gjerstad, the priest and Sjöqvist (1929?).

While conducting excavations at Ayios Jakovos, Sjöqvist and Gjerstad stayed with the priest in Mandres, a village 2 km to the north of the site. The priest not only had an imposing appearance. He was also unusually strong and had a reputation as "the wrestling priest". He welcomed the Swedes in a very marked way. Gjerstad again: "... he threw his arms around me in a wrestling hold and kissed me on both cheeks. In this village, continued Papa Polivios, you need never be afraid of ruffians. You are under my protection, you are my friends" (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 60).

Fig. 17. Christos, Westholm and Lazaros at the palace of Vouni 1928-9.

Fig. 18. Camels loaded with pottery at Melia (the necropolis of Ajios Jakovos).

Fig. 19. Camels on the Nicosia road.

In 1929 there were 1361 camels in Cyprus. In 1938 there were only 800. The camels were used for transport of timber, petroleum and fodder, but they were successively replaced by motor vehicles.

Fig. 20. Threshing at Enkomi (1929?).

"...the Cypriot peasant had not waisted his inheritance. The corn, the trees, the grooves and the springs were still inhabited by natural spirits which were feared just as much as the Christian saints. The farmer still ploughed with a wooden ploughshare tipped with iron, just as he did in classical antiquity. ...the farmers still sat on their threshing sledges which were pulled by oxen over the corn which had been spread out on the threshing field" (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, pp. 78, 80).





Fig. 16. Mandres (Ajos Jakovos). Gjerstad, the priest and Sjöqvist (1929?).



Fig. 17. Christos, Westholm and Lazaros at the palace of Vouni 1928-9.



Fig. 18. Camels loaded with pottery at Melia (the necropolis of Ajios Jakovos).



Fig. 19. Camels on the Nicosia road.





Fig. 20. Threshing at Enkomi (1929?).

Fig. 21. A kafeneion at Lapithos. Sjöqvist and Lindros sitting at a small table in the background.

As today in Greek villages, the kafeneion was the centre of the male, public, daily life. Christoforos' kafeneion in Lapithos in 1927 was no exception. In one corner of the café, the landlord made the coffee on a hearth built of stones and earth. In his book, Gjerstad vividly describes how difficult it was to get approval from the landlords to excavate in their fields. In Lapithos, the negotiations with the peasants took place in a café. The Swedes got their permission after a long discussion, in which also the Swedish consul L. Pierides took part (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 38)

Fig. 22. A kafeneion at Gallinoporni (1929?).

Gallinoporni was a Turkish village along the southern coast of Karpassos, where the workers went on Sundays. The Swedes were also invited one Sunday and were welcomed by the cheerful Turks in Gallinoporni. The village Muchtar (bailiff) came to meet them. His

son Hussein, called Circolo, embraced the Swedes and promised to kill all his hens and sheep in their honour. "In the café he began to dance ... They laughed, shouted, drank brandy, while Circolo stamped and droned and the rusty paraffin lamp squeaked in the wind" (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, p. 53).

Fig. 23. Workers dancing in the orchestra of the theatre at Soli 1927.

Fig. 24. Koundouras makes "kleftika". Soli (1927?). Worker busy preparing a lamb steak. Note the head of the animal and the knife!

Fig. 25. Farewell party in the house of Panayotis (autumn 1928).

When the work was over at Dali, a great party was held for the workers at the house of Panayotis, the "know-all worker" of the Expedition. "Steaming bowls of cut-up sacrificial animals and beans, shining in oil, were pas-





Fig. 21. A kafeneion at Laphthos. Sjöqvist and Lindros sitting at a small table in the background.



Fig. 22. A kafeneion at Gallinoporni (1929?).





Fig. 23. Workers dancing in the orchestra of the theatre at Soli 1927.

sed down the long tables. The light Dali wine made our spirits bright and full of fun. When the wine goes in, songs come out and songs could be heard in both Greek and Turkish. .... Chrysanthos of the peering eyes asks Vasilou to dance, and soon Panajotis' yard is full of jazzing Dalites. Of course, we are in Cyprus, and this is the mixture of the Occidental and the Oriental which was called Cypriot culture during the days of antiquity" (*Ages and days in Cyprus*, pp. 127-128).

Fig. 26. Loading the finds to be taken to Sweden at the Swedish Institute in Nicosia.

Fig. 27. The 771 packing-cases at the harbour of Famagusta in 1931, awaiting transport by ship to Sweden.



Fig. 24. Koundouras makes "kleftika". Soli (1927?).





Fig. 25. Farewell party in the house of Panayotis (autumn 1928).



Fig. 26. Loading of the finds to be taken to Sweden at the Swedish Institute in Nicosia.





Fig. 27. The 771 packing-cases at the harbour of Famagusta in 1931, awaiting transport by ship to Sweden.

## Recent research

Work on the finds from the Swedish excavations did not stop when the excavations were over. Scholars and students from all over the world are still doing research on the material and regularly visit the Cyprus Collections. They examine the material, plans, drawings, notebooks and photographs from different aspects. The immense pottery collection has attracted most of the scholars, but the sculpture, and the rich metal finds from the Lapithos tombs, have also been the foci of much interest.

As early as 1972, Gjerstad selected 1200 pottery sherds from the Expedition's work and had them shipped to the Berkeley Laboratory for neutron-activation analysis. The purpose was to establish the clay composition of Cypriote vessels of various

styles and from different sites and periods. A data-bank could thereby be established for Cypriote pottery (Gunneweg, Perlman and Asaro). Four years later, neutron-activation measurements were made on wheelmade pottery of the Middle Cypriote Bronze Age III and Late Cypriote Bronze Age I periods in Cyprus, in order to determine the provenance (Artzy). Later, neutron-activation analyses were also made on the Tell el Yahudiyeh Ware vessels in the Medelhavsmuseet and they all turned out to be of Egyptian manufacture (4 vessels, 2 from Enkomi) (Kaplan). Most interesting tests with experimental pottery have given clues to the manufacturing technique of Early Cypriote Bronze Age black-topped pottery (Waern-Sperber).

Recently a study has also been made of the White Painted III-IV vessels from Lapithos (Maguire). The

Mycenaean Pictorial vases have also attracted many scholars, who have come to the Museum to study the Mycenaean amphoroid kraters and the Mycenaean Pictorial vases and sherds (Karageorghis, Rystedt).

Ceramics from Enkomi and Ajios Jakovos have also been examined, in order to obtain insights into the systems of ceramic production and standardization. Other students have preferred to examine pottery of a later date and made stylistic analyses of Bichrome IV vase-painting.

Tomb groups from Enkomi and Ajios Jakovos have been examined in a study of the development of the social hierarchy in Late Cypriote, Bronze Age Cyprus, as reflected by differences in tomb constructions and grave goods (Keswani).

Other research was concentrated on Geometric tomb groups, involving the statistical treatment of published material.

A metallographic and compositional analysis of objects from Lapithos (*Vrysi tou Barba*) expanded into a dissertation on the development of the metal-smith's craft during the Early and Middle Cypriote Bronze Ages. The study of typology, manufacture and composition sheds light on different aspects of the metal-working tradition of the Early and Middle Cypriote Bronze Age (Balthazar).

A majority of the copper-based artifacts from the Early and Middle Cypriote Bronze Age cemetery of Lapithos (*Vrysi tou Barba*) have been examined. Chemical analyses have been made of 90 objects from 10 different tombs and lead-isotope analyses of the same material have been commenced for provenance studies (Gale and Stos-Gale).

Iron artifacts from Amathus, Idalion and Lapithos have been sampled for metallography and elemental analysis in a study of the beginning of iron metallurgy in Cyprus (Åström, Maddin and Muhly).

A dissertation on the circulation of Cypriote Archaic and Classical coins includes a study of the coin hoards from Vouni and Saida (Sidon) (Destrooper-Georgiades). The coins belong to the Medelhavsmuseet but are deposited in the Royal Coin Cabinet.

A recent study has been made of the votive material of terracotta from the Archaic sanctuaries at Ajia Irini and Kythrea on Cyprus, found by the Expedition and in part unpublished. The study was widened to

form an interdisciplinary project combining archaeological observation with archaeometric studies of clays and pigments. One of the main objectives was to get information about the technological aspects of the terracottas, i.e. to define workshops and to identify individual craftsmen. This study will yield significant information about the production and function of votive offerings in open-air sanctuaries on Archaic Cyprus (Ikosi).

An extensive and remarkable re-study of the plans, drawings and sherd material from the excavations at Nitovikla resulted in a re-dating of the fortress (Hult).

The Cyprus Collections will long remain a rich source to scholars and students. Pots can still be put together from the immense sherd material. Fragments of sculpture await publication. Many of the already published finds can be re-studied by modern methods and equipment. A major part of the pottery acquired by purchase and through gifts has not been thoroughly studied or published. "... it was indeed rewarding to discover how much knowledge remains hidden in the documents and pottery boxes preserved in the Stockholm museum." (Hult, in *Acta Cypria*, Part 2, p. 168)

*Works published in the 1970s to 1990s and based wholly or largely on material from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the Medelhavsmuseet or in deposits elsewhere.*

The following list sorts the works according to categories of material. Asterisks mark those to which references by authors' names were made in the preceding text. Abbreviations of periodicals follow the standard usage as in the *American Journal of Archaeology* (vol. 95, 1991, 4-16). In addition, the following are used:

*MedMusB* Bulletin. The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

*MedMusM* Memoir. The Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, Stockholm

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# Einar Gjerstad: Reflections on the Past and the Present

R.S. Merrillees

In an age when ephemeral publications have become the passport to prosperity, if not necessarily posterity, the works of Einar Gjerstad stand as timeless milestones on the path to historical truth. No better illustration of the differences between these two kinds of academic product could be found than the respective approaches of Old and New archaeologists to their subject. For the prehistorians of Gjerstad's era the end of their research was a definition of the mainspring to a civilisation's essential character and its geographical and historical place in mankind's development. Contemporary students of antiquity like to think that the means have replaced the end and that methodology alone holds the key to unlocking the past. It is symptomatic of the dichotomy between the two generations of specialists that they do not quote each other's work if they can help it and that their perceptions of the same matter diverge irreconcilably. For all its avowed commitment to scientific techniques, post-historical archaeology is, like all fashions, subject to changing taste and demand, and hence prone to wholesale revision, depending on which school of thought gains the ascendancy. Gjerstad's greatness lies in the fact that all his contributions to our knowledge of Cypriote antiquity remain of enduring value, for his interpretations were based on a comprehensive and authoritative grasp of the pertinent data and on a deductive, not inductive process of reasoning. His aim was to refine our understanding of the imperatives of cultural evolution, not to validate

preconceived notions and models, and long after the purveyors of social complexity and elitism in Cypriote prehistory have passed into obscurity, Gjerstad's publications will continue to enlighten and inspire.

Notwithstanding a century's controlled field-work in Cyprus, to which the Swedish Cyprus Expedition has made the single most substantial contribution, there remain unresolved a number of significant historical issues. The three that dominate the literature today are the origins of the Early Bronze Age in the island, the nature of the Mycenaean influence in the Late Cypriote period, and the identification of the ancient place-name of Alashia. On all these points Gjerstad was eloquent as much in his stated views as in his silence, thereby revealing the way in which he addressed the problems involved in examining the evidence of the past. Gjerstad did not waste his time or words. His writings show an academic restraint, purposefulness and consistency that was as rare then as it would be unrepeatable today. He considered it a sacred duty to publish and analyse the raw archaeological and philological data at his disposal. He believed it equally important to publicise his findings not for his own self-aggrandisement but for society's benefit. Unlike today's generation of students, he composed few book reviews or conference papers and, above all, produced nothing whose sole aim was to increase the size of his bibliography. His whole output was the epitome of



scholarship, and though we may disagree with some of his ideas and conclusions, the integrity of his motives and methods is beyond doubt.

By surveying Gjerstad's opinions, or lack of them, on the three subjects specified above, it should be possible not only to define the principles which guided his academic approach but to benefit from the conclusions he reached on his own interpretation of the evidence. He had long been interested in the origins of the Early Cypriote period. Lack of relevant archaeological material at the time he published *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* in 1926 led him to limit his coverage to the Bronze Age as he understood it (p. 1). As he pointed out in the Introduction to this work and in no uncertain terms in his caustic review of Stanley Casson's *Ancient Cyprus* (Gjerstad 1939, p. 143), the only Stone Age remains extant were those that he had himself excavated at Phrenaros/Vounistiri in 1925. It is therefore of some significance that he omitted from his study the material already available for what came to be known subsequently as the Philia Culture. In December 1884 Max Ohnefalsch-Richter excavated an individual earth grave in Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* for the Cyprus Museum and published the contents in *Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte* for 1899 (p. 41, fig. I.1-5, pp. 40f.). The tomb, which was numbered 3, was a simple pit, 60 centimetres deep, dug into the earth with an almost square plan and rounded corners (Dussaud 1914, p. 260), and produced the following objects:

- No. 1. Red Polished (Philia) juglet with cut-away spout.  
Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 41, fig. I.1;  
Stewart 1988, p. 33, Type IAa, No. 9.
- No. 2. Red Polished (Philia) flask.  
Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 41, fig. I.2;  
Dussaud 1914, p. 262, fig. 186, pp. 260f.;  
Stewart 1962, p. 315, Type VAa.
- No. 3. Copper or bronze flat-tanged knife.  
Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 41, fig. I.3, p. 318;  
Dussaud 1914, p. 261, fig. 185.18, pp. 260ff.;  
Stewart 1962, p. 350, Type IIIa.

- No. 4. Copper or bronze flat-tanged knife.  
Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 41, fig. I.4, p. 318;  
Dussaud 1914, p. 261, fig. 185.19, pp. 260ff.;  
Stewart 1962, p. 350, Type IIIa or b.

- No. 5. Copper or bronze razor.  
Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 41, fig. I.5, p. 318;  
Dussaud 1914, p. 261, fig. 185.17, pp. 260ff.;  
Stewart 1962, p. 351, Type IIaA or Ca.

In addition Ohnefalsch-Richter recorded but did not illustrate two fragments of the same kind of vase as No. 1 (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 41). These pieces appear to be the only items from the tomb recorded in the Cyprus Museum (Myres and Ohnefalsch-Richter 1899, p. 46, No. 236). Dussaud also records the presence of a large sea shell (Dussaud 1914, p. 261). There is no reference to this deposit in *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus*, and none of the grave goods is identifiably illustrated.

Other Philia Culture objects known by me to have entered public collections before *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* came out are three Red Polished (Philia) jugs, two in the Old Collection of the Cyprus Museum and one in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

- (a) Cyprus Museum No. A143. Red Polished (Philia) jug with cut-away spout. *Fig. 1.*  
Taylor and Seton-Williams 1938, p. 5; Stewart 1988, p. 20, Type IA e1, No. 1.
- (b) Cyprus Museum No. A144. Red Polished (Philia) jug with cut-away spout.  
Stewart 1988, p. 20, Type IA e1, No. 2, pl. II.4.
- (c) Victoria and Albert Museum No. 209-1901. Red Polished (Philia) juglet. *Fig. 2.*  
Dumpy, ovoid body with broad, flat base; broad, slightly concave neck with cut-away spout, probably with rounded end; handle of circular section from spout base to shoulder. Thick, softish, buff outer face, slipped light to medium red and smoothed. The slip is thin, friable and matt. Height: 22.25 cm. Width of body: 9.2 cm. Diameter of base: 6.2 cm. Intact and virtually complete. Roughly made.  
Stewart 1988, p. 17f., Type IA b1.



Fig. 1. Red Polished (Philia) jug. Cyprus Museum A 143. C.M. Neg. No. G.897 (left).



Fig. 2. Red Polished (Philia) juglet. Victoria and Albert Museum 209-1901. Neg. No. 4790.

Gjerstad did not refer to any of this material in his paper on "The origin and chronology of the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus" in the *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus* of 1980, though he did state that in 1925 "no Red Polished pottery of Philia type had been found in scientific excavations. The earliest Bronze Age material scientifically excavated

by Markides was that of two tombs (101 and 103bis) at Arpera. The first burials in these tombs were assigned by me to Early Cypriote I. That the pottery of the first burials in the Arpera tombs mentioned has contact with the Philia Culture is evident...." (p. 11). It may be surmised that Gjerstad (rightly) did not consider Ohnefalsch-Richter's activities exactly



professional, and Gjerstad's uncompromising attachment to scientific procedure is well attested elsewhere (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934, p. xiv).

Why, then, did Gjerstad return to an investigation of this phase? The main trigger was obviously provided by the contributions from Dikaïos and Stewart to *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. IV:1A, of which Gjerstad was the editor. As he noted in his foreword, Dikaïos and Stewart, like many specialists, did "not agree in matters falling within the sphere of their speciality, as can be seen from the different opinions which they have advanced regarding the initial stage of the Bronze Age, the Philia culture, its origin, chronology and historical context" (p. v). As is well known, Dikaïos attributed the Philia Culture as represented by the sites he excavated in the Ovgos Valley to the initial or earliest stage of Early Cypriote I (Dikaïos 1962, pp. 190f.) preceding Site A at Bellapais *Vounous*, while according to Stewart the Philia Culture overlapped in the cemeteries he dug at Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* and *Vasilia Kaphkalla* and *Kilistra* with Early Cypriote I to III (Stewart 1962, pp. 269f.). Stewart did not, however, exclude the possibility that the Philia Culture antedated the beginning of the Bronze Age as defined by the Bellapais *Vounous* sequence (Stewart 1962, p. 269). Gjerstad clearly disagreed with Stewart's interpretation of the data (cf. Gjerstad 1980b, p. 31), but must have noted the latter's suggestion that a clue to the history of the transition from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age periods could be contained in Dikaïos' unpublished excavations at *Ambelikou Ayios Georghios* (Stewart 1962, p. 269). Though Dikaïos had already produced a summary account of his sondage at this site in his contribution to *SCE* IV:1A, pp. 140 ff., Stewart's comment provided Gjerstad with the excuse he needed to re-open debate on the subject.

This is not the place to review Gjerstad's analysis of the finds from *Ambelikou Ayios Georghios*, for which we can be duly grateful, except to express some reservations about the far-reaching classificatory and chronological conclusions he reached on the basis of only a small sample of material from a single site on the north coast of Cyprus (Gjerstad 1980a; Gjerstad 1980b, pp. 31ff.). A more detailed critique of Gjerstad's interpretations

of the finds has been written by E. Peltenburg and published in *Cypriot ceramics: reading the prehistoric record* (Philadelphia 1991, pp. 17f.). What is of particular historiographical interest is Gjerstad's view on the source of the Philia Culture, for he found in the pot sherds recovered from *Ambelikou Ayios Georghios* confirmation of his belief, first expressed in *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* in 1926, that the material culture at the start of the Early Cypriote period originated to the north in Anatolia (pp. 294 ff.). For Gjerstad there were three discrete stages in the relations of one culture to another: "the first, the separation of the cultures; the second, their communications; and the third, their assimilation" (Gjerstad 1926, p. 293). Pottery was in his opinion a sensitive indicator for determining which of these processes best explained the evidence, and in the case of the Philia Culture material, Gjerstad was convinced that the "mutual and thorough similarity" between this assemblage and the ceramic remains from Cilicia indicated "separation" (Gjerstad 1926, p. 300), that is, the new culture came from a common stock and was introduced to Cyprus by immigrants from Anatolia (Gjerstad 1980a, pp. 11ff.; Gjerstad 1980b, pp. 31ff.).

Drawing on his tripartite evolutionary schema, Gjerstad then postulated the progressive absorption of the newcomers' ceramic repertory by the indigenous pottery industry, so that complete cultural assimilation was ultimately achieved. According to his own reconstruction of events, "we have seen that the Early Bronze Age introduced by Anatolian refugees in western Cyprus was incorporated into a Chalcolithic Cypriote culture. In some sites the Chalcolithic settlers lived in symbiosis with the immigrants, but in other sites only the Chalcolithic population was represented. In the Early Bronze Age IC the Chalcolithic remains disappeared owing to the fusion of the immigrants and the indigenous population. The introductory process of the Bronze Age was completed and a homogenous Bronze Age culture was created in western Cyprus" (Gjerstad 1980a, p. 16; Gjerstad 1980b, p. 33). To reach this conclusion Gjerstad needed to demonstrate a clear typological distinction between the Erimi and Philia Cultures, the chronological precedence of the Philia Culture over

the Bellapais *Vounous* sequence, and the close resemblance between the material of the Philia Culture and the contemporaneous Early Bronze civilisation of Anatolia. While Swiny has greatly amplified the *comparanda* between the Philia Culture and Anatolia (Swiny 1985, pp. 20ff.), much more research needs to be done on the other two props of Gjerstad's historical argument before it can be unequivocally accepted.

There are other mysteries that also need to be solved before a full understanding can be reached not only of the chronological horizon of the Philia Culture but of the evidence itself. Though Gjerstad did not share Stewart's opinion on the contemporaneity of the Philia Culture with the Early Cypriote Period, Stewart claimed in 1957 that "some scholars (e.g., Professor Gjerstad) have expressed the opinion that Vasilia may even continue into the Middle Bronze Age, and while this is possible the members of the expedition are not yet prepared to go so far" (Stewart 1957, p. 3). No reference is quoted for Gjerstad's position—there is a gap in their correspondence between September 1955 and January 1960—and from this it may be inferred that it was relayed to Stewart orally during the latter's visit to Sweden in 1956. The basis for Stewart's assertion, which Gjerstad did not subsequently contest (though he may not of course have been aware of it), could partly at least have lain in Stewart's argument that the unique W.P.II jug with double cut-away spouts from Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba Tomb 4 bis* (a) of M.C.I. date, which Gjerstad illustrated in *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* (p. 149, Jug No. 3) and for whose fabric Stewart found the closest parallels in his W.P.IB (Philia) sherds from Vasilia, owed "something to the Philia culture" (Stewart 1965, p. 159). Even more compelling but puzzling is Stewart's statement in a letter of 20 January 1961 to Gjerstad that "in the fill of the stone walls blocking Vasilia Tomb 103 there is a W.P.II bowl". No mention is made of this find in the initial account of the excavations in the *University of Melbourne Gazette*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 11th April 1957 (pp. 1-3), in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Vol. IV:1A (General Index) or in Hennessy *et al.* 1988. Though Stewart did not in his letter to Gjerstad put undue weight on the chronological implications of the

recovery of the W.P. II bowl, which would have belonged to M.C.I, he obviously intended it to help influence Gjerstad in favour of his own attribution of the Philia Culture to the Early Cypriote period. In this he was manifestly unsuccessful.

Gjerstad applied the same methodological approach to the evidence for Aegean contacts with Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age as he did for the earlier purported links with Anatolia. On technical and typological grounds he had no doubt that the Mycenaean pottery found in the island was all imported from the Greek mainland (Gjerstad 1926, pp. 218ff.). It was therefore a sign of the "communication" between different cultures (Gjerstad 1926, pp. 294, 325f.). On the other hand, what he classified as "Submycenaean ware", which comprised a variety of wheel-made vases belonging to the Late Cypriote III period, was shown to be "a local, indigenous fabric, composed of and assimilating Mycenaean an (*sic*) old-Cypriote elements" (Gjerstad 1926, pp. 220, esp. 228). Conceptually this process is covered in Gjerstad's system of cultural interrelations by his assimilation phase, in which the disappearance of distinctions between native and foreign elements seems to arise, amongst other circumstances, "when a foreign people immigrate and coalesce with the native population" (Gjerstad 1926, p. 294). While Gjerstad categorically rejected the argument that the great quantity of Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus indicated a Greek settlement of the island before 1200 B.C. (Gjerstad 1926, pp. 218ff., 326ff.), the "combination of the Mycenaean and Cyprian cultures [in Late Cypriote III]... signifies Greek colonization of the island" (Gjerstad 1926, p. 328).

These conclusions are a great tribute to Gjerstad's powers of intellectual rigour and logic, if not necessarily to historicity. They were evidently reinforced by the findings of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, for in his review of Casson's *Ancient Cyprus*, Gjerstad declared that "Casson's theories on the Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus are not supported by archaeological and anthropological evidence, but a discussion of this problem here would take too much space and I must therefore refer to Vol. IV of *Swed. Cyp. Exp.*" (Gjerstad 1939, p.

144). Gjerstad did not himself in the end write for Volume IV, Part 1 of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* but due to the delay in the publication of this synthesis, he addressed himself beforehand to two relevant subjects, "The initial date of the Cypriote Iron Age" and "The colonization of Cyprus in Greek legend", both of which appeared in 1944 in *Opuscula Archaeologica*, Vol. III (pp. 73ff., 107ff.). From his assembly of the data he was able to claim that Cyprus was colonised in Late Cypriote III on two successive occasions. "The first invasion took place in Late Cypriote IIIA, at the beginning of the 12th century B.C. The invaders arrived from Asia Minor and were mixed with Levantine people of Achaean stock. The legend of the Anatolian Teukros refers to this invasion. The second stage of the colonization can be assigned to Late Cypriote IIIB, about 1100 B.C. This migration of peoples was due to the Dorian invasion in Greece and is recorded by the rest of the 'historic' foundation legends..." (Gjerstad 1944b, p. 123).

The main author of the relevant part of *SCE IV*, Part 1, when it eventually came out in 1972, was suitably measured and circumspect in his comments on this issue. Professor Åström, who took over the Late Bronze Age from Professor Furumark, allowed himself only a passing observation in a footnote to the effect that "The many fine Mycenaean vases [in Enkomi French Tomb 2 are] in themselves no indication of a colonization..." (Åström 1972b, p. 773, n. 3). However, in his eloquent obituary of Gjerstad in *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund*, 1988-89, Åström went further when he wrote that there now was every indication that Gjerstad's opinion was right (p. 20). Gjerstad's last word on the subject appeared in 1980 in the revised English edition of *Sekler och dagar*, in which he stated that "as regards the quantities of Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus which belongs to the period 1400-1200 B.C., it was previously thought that this was not imported but had been made in Cyprus by Mycenaean colonists and those maintaining the opposite view in the 1920s got no support. Today, however, it is unlikely that there is anyone who believes that the Mycenaean vases in question were made in Cyprus. The decisive proof that this is the right view has been given by the analysis of the pottery clay by neutron activation" (Gjerstad 1980a,

p. 72). This, it so happens, is a highly debatable statement, as reference to the *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean Nicosia 27th March – 2nd April 1972* (Nicosia 1973) and Kling's admirable summation (Kling 1989, pp. 91ff.) will show, and there is no consensus in the academic community on the issue. Gjerstad himself paid an early price for his views, since one of the examiners of his doctoral dissertation, Professor Axel Persson, disputed his argument that the Mycenaean pottery found in Cyprus was made in Greece, believing it to have been made in the island, and gave him a degree below the top mark. This subsequently became a tradition which lasted forty years, not only at Uppsala University but in other Swedish Universities, on the grounds that if a scholar as outstanding as Gjerstad received a less than first class degree, no-one else should be given a higher award (Åström 1988-9, p. 20).

In Gjerstad's defence it must be said that for him colonisation had a very specific meaning and that his views on the source and inspiration of Mycenaean pottery were not cut and dried. Colonisation clearly implied a mass movement of foreign people who entered the island and settled down as residents. What happened in Late Cypriote II, according to Gjerstad, was "a definite orientation [of the island] towards the West and a drawing into the Mycenaean sphere of commercial influence" (Gjerstad 1926, p. 327). This extension of Mycenaean power was responsible for making Cyprus the real centre of the trade and culture of the Levant (Gjerstad 1926, pp. 327f.). Nor did Gjerstad rule out the imitation of Mycenaean pottery at this time in Cyprus, though by indigenous artisans, and he also noted cases in which Mycenaean potters imitated Cypriote vase shapes (Gjerstad 1980b, p. 72). The reason he advances for this development is typical of Gjerstad the scholar and man, for he claimed that the Mycenaean potters probably "wanted to appear interested in and polite to their Cypriote customers" (Gjerstad 1980b, pp. 72, 74). Gjerstad would have approved of such gentlemanly behaviour and done no less himself in similar circumstances.

It is to Gjerstad's undying credit that he never expressed a casual opinion in print on the location of



the ancient place name of Alashia. He had numerous occasions to do so, in *Studies on prehistoric Cyprus* (Gjerstad 1926), the review of Casson's *Ancient Cyprus* (Gjerstad 1939), and in *Ages and days in Cyprus* (Gjerstad 1980b), to mention only the most obvious. Nor is any hint of his position to be gleaned from such works as Sjöqvist's *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Sjöqvist 1940, p. 200, n. 2), where Casson's advocacy of the equation with Cyprus is cited, and Åström's contributions to *SCE*, Volume IV, Part 1 (Åström 1972a, p. 277, n. 4; Åström 1972b, p. 772, n. 4). His reticence should be surprising only to those lesser in stature. For Gjerstad there were three guiding principles in his scholarly attitude. He was first and foremost an historian, whose task was "to distinguish the valuable material from the worthless thus bringing forth the historic evidence" (Gjerstad 1944b, p. 107). He was always conscientious in assembling the relevant material, analysing it dispassionately, and drawing only such deductions as it allowed. It was typical of his approach that he should have taken Casson to task for the latter's lack of first-hand knowledge of the evidence (Gjerstad 1939, p. 142). Secondly, he acknowledged that in failing to identify the settlement at Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*, he had made the worst kind of mistake a scholar can make—working on the basis of a preconceived idea (Gjerstad 1980b, p. 70). Finally, Gjerstad engaged only in polemics where necessary and appropriate. It is noteworthy that he did not consider *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* a suitable vehicle for conflicting opinions (Gjerstad 1944a, pp. 73f.). His tolerance was strained to the limit by editing *SCE*, Volume IV:1A.

I have no doubt that if Gjerstad had decided to take up the identification of Alashia, he would not have contented himself with prejudgements, a recital of other scholars' opinions, or tendentious argumentation. He would have treated the subject in the same way as the Greek foundation legends about Cyprus, and the fact that he never undertook this assignment, if he ever thought of it, is surely attributable to his lack of expertise in the ancient languages involved. It is a measure of Gjerstad's honesty and rectitude that throughout his writings he showed his determination to reveal historical truth only by using all the scientific evidence at his disposal and the critical

faculties he possessed. To judge by their published works today, post-historical archaeologists consider such guiding principles at best irrelevant, at worst anachronistic. No-one has defined Gjerstad's major contribution to elucidating Cypriote antiquity with greater perceptiveness than Dr Karageorghis, who points out that "Gjerstad based his study [*Studies on prehistoric Cyprus*] entirely on the material evidence and his conclusions were scientifically sound. He looked upon the prehistory of Cyprus with a trained eye, observing the development of the various phases of culture and detecting influences from the surrounding countries.... Many of Gjerstad's observations not only remain unshaken though the lapse of time but often constitute a source of inspiration for further research" (Karageorghis 1977, pp. 7f.). This was my experience when writing my own doctoral thesis on *The Cypriote Bronze Age pottery found in Egypt*, and will surely be shared by others again in the future.

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# Memories of Einar Gjerstad

Sylvia Törnkvist

My very first meeting with Einar Gjerstad was in 1952, when I entered the Classical Institute of Lund University. He looked very severely at me, eyebrows pointing downwards (a sign I learned to read later on), and said: "May I ask you, Miss, to go back and shut the park entrance gate behind you!"

Of course, I hurried back to shut the gate, which had been standing half-open when I came in. At that time, a student would obey without objection anything asked by a professor—especially one with a face revealing some temper. That this harsh-looking person might sometime become a dear friend of mine certainly did not enter into my mind.

As for Gjerstad in the role of teacher, I shall not elaborate on our rather short, professor-pupil relation here. He could suddenly ask a student or anybody around for their opinion about a scientific problem and if one then tried to remember lessons, he would say: "No, forget the books!" He liked to hear an unprejudiced opinion, probably without any pedagogical intentions, but we, of course, felt proud to be treated as intellectuals.

In 1957 Gjerstad left Lund to do his research on "Early Rome". When he turned up at the Classical Institute, it was mainly to have his manuscripts typed and printed. As an assistant in archaeology, I used to become involved in these matters. He always reckoned that the small staff had all the time on earth for him, so situations could become a little delicate, if other services were requested. It used to fall to my lot to confront him with such unwelcome facts. He did not give up what he considered as his rights immediately but could accept arguments if they were

convincing enough. The printers trembled at his arrival: each workday at 7 a.m. he turned up to read proofs and to see how the printing was getting on. However, he was very demanding towards others but even more so towards himself—that is why he was really respected. And it was a great stimulus to find that one had achieved what had at first seemed impossible. In trivialities he could be the classical, absent-minded professor, but for important matters he was the born organizer. He knew how to obtain results, whether using his power or charm and humour—he was formidable whichever tactics he chose. And for important objectives he would not hesitate to use even slightly unorthodox methods. One example concerns the present Classical institute. It was originally built as an institute of physics. When the physicists left for new premises in 1950, other professors were asked on what conditions they would take over. Much later, he told me how his colleagues had straight-forwardly and innocently given their calculations of the necessary expenses, while he himself generously offered to accept the house just as it was—and got it! Though afterwards, of course, he had to raise funds for the necessary changes. And generations of students of antiquity at Lund have had good reasons to be grateful for his deception.

He wanted absolute order in financial matters. Of course, he was likely to be in charge of various undertakings, in which a strong hand was needed. Once, when he was to take over the responsibility for the expenses of publishing certain excavations, which had become too mixed up, he sent me to visit





Einar Gjerstad and Vassos Karageorghis at the Viking Age monument of The stones of Ale (ship setting) in southern Sweden (1977). Photo: Sylvia Törnkvist.

the National Accounting and Audit Bureau in Stockholm. I had to go through the travel expenses etc. of those involved. As always, he sought his information from the most reliable source; order was re-established and nobody could object.

Einar Gjerstad's research on "Early Rome" did not have the same success as his Cypriote activities. So, when he was back in Lund in the early seventies, he was longing to return to his old hunting-grounds. But he did not have much time for that: we all remember the sad events of 1974 in Cyprus. He suffered immensely and spent all his energy and much money on the Greek refugees. When he was able to visit Cyprus again and asked permission to visit his own excavations at the Vouni palace, where the former President Makarios had a stele raised to commemorate the Swedish Cyprus Expedition with Gjerstad's name inscribed on it, permission was refused. His bitter comment was: "It is, of course, now a military area..."

But let me relate another little episode of a later date. Among the guests on his 80th birthday in 1977 was Vassos Karageorghis, who had come all the way from Nicosia. Einar wanted to show him the famous "Stones of Ale" at Kåseberga near Ystad the next day. I was, of course, pleased to be asked to act as their driver. The late October day was reasonably clear and warm, so the walk up to the stone setting was quite enjoyable, and a good lunch was expected at Ystad. The two friends enjoyed the meal, talking together happily, while I became more and more impatient. Karageorghis was to lecture in Rome the same evening and we were supposed to catch a bus in Malmö for him to be taken over to Copenhagen Airport. When finally we were racing through the villages without much regard to speed limits ("You will have to pay the fines!" I whispered emphatically), he began to realize what we were doing and asked me very innocently: "But why didn't you tell me we were in such a hurry?" Karageorghis

controlled his fear in the backseat, but his face grew whiter and whiter, while Einar alternately told him entertaining little stories and asked me anxious questions in Swedish. Fortunately, the bus had not left. We had just enough time to throw in the luggage first and Karageorghis after it without any farewell ceremonies. If he had had the strength to look out through the window (I doubt if he had), he would have seen us both literally dancing with joy on the pavement. "Please, please, never tell Vivi this!" was Gjerstad's spontaneous exclamation, when he got his breath back.

He loved and admired his wife Vivi immensely. They were very grateful to reach a great age together. When Vivi died half a year before him, he was in a home for old people. His sons did all they could to comfort him, but it was obvious that he did not enjoy life any more. I went to see him, now and then. He was suffering from aphasia, so he was not able to take

part in a conversation as before, but his mind was clear and he wanted to entertain his guest like a good host. So we used to look at the pictures in his old photograph albums, preferably from the happy days of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

And we listened together to records of classical music. (He had used to play the piano when younger.) I suppose this must be my last memory of Einar Gjerstad: a very old man, sitting in his chair, and for a while forgetting the depressing situation, absorbed by the melodies of Brahms or Mozart. It was good to see that, thanks to music, he could still enjoy some of his last hours on earth.

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# Doing Thesis Work For the Expedition

## A Review of the Cypriote Period of my Life

Lena Söderhjelm

Working on this short paper has given me a pleasant opportunity to turn my thoughts back to my student years and the time I spent with the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

When I first came to Lund to start my classical studies beginning with Latin, as was then the rule, I also attended Professor Gjerstad's lectures in classical archaeology. At that time, in the early fifties, he was working on the archaeology of early Rome. His lectures were charming and inspiring, and I was looking forward to beginning my studies in classical archaeology after finishing the Latin.

One of the highlights of the archaeological studies was a study tour led by Professor Gjerstad to the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm, where we spent some days looking at the finds from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Toulis, Gjerstad's foreman in the excavations, who had become a happy Swedish civil servant, adopting the surname Souidos (the Swede), taught us how to mend potsherds to form complete or almost complete pots. This was the first occasion on which I came into contact with objects found in Cyprus, but it was not to be the last. When Professor Gjerstad, however, tried to make us see the difference between the forms and shapes of various pots and to distinguish between periods such as the Late Helladic IIIA1 and the Late Helladic IIIA2 I was less fascinated.

After completing my undergraduate studies, including a paper on Mycenaean chariot vases, I looked for a suitable subject for a licentiate thesis. At that time, the summary volumes of the *The Swedish*

*Cyprus Expedition (SCE)*, dealing with the various periods, were being completed by the respective authors, and Professor Gjerstad suggested that I should take on the gold and silver objects of the Late Cypriote period (1600-1050 B.C.). I accepted this suggestion and set to work on this attractive material.

The framework of my task was set by SCE, Volume IV, Parts 2 and 3, on the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods and on the Hellenistic and Roman periods respectively, also by part 1B on the Middle Cypriote Bronze Age. It was rather reassuring to have a ready-made framework into which to place one's efforts, although it excluded the possibility of going deeper into certain categories of material, which would have been an interesting thing to do, had time permitted. For a start, I had to sit down and work my way through the material, getting acquainted with the various objects. The initial work on gold and silver then expanded into a thesis for the doctorate, including all the material, except pottery, such as iron, lead and bronze. The latter had been extensively studied by Dr Hector Catling in his book *Cypriote bronzework in the Mycenaean world* (Oxford 1964).

Moreover there were terracotta figurines, beads and spindle-whorls, actually everything made of terracotta that was not pots. There were faience and glass beads and small vases, stone tools, including a number of spindlewhorls, pestles and some vases, beads of various semi-precious stones, bone objects and some beautifully carved ivories. I must admit that my enthusiasm for every spindle-whorl that I found hidden in dusty drawers in museum basements

was not as great as it had been for the gold objects. But those were the rules; every small, Late Cypriote object found not only by the Swedish expedition but also by other excavators in earlier and later expeditions was to be described and classified. It turned out to be a sort of excavation, but I did my digging in museum storerooms, looking for particular objects from a certain period—and in most cases I knew in advance what I was supposed to find. It is quite as fascinating to recognize and handle an object of which you have studied the description and perhaps a drawing or a photograph as it is to find it hidden in the earth. And, in contrast to real excavations, you can happily leave aside things that do not belong to your period or to your category of material.

It was a good thing to have started my work with the gold objects, which appealed to me as being more exclusive and not as numerous as the more ordinary objects for everyday use. The techniques of filigree and granulation were frequently used, as well as various embossed ornaments on gold strips. Among the gold objects, my favourites were the earrings with a bull's-head pendant. They seem to be of Cypriote origin and have not been found in many places outside Cyprus. Other attractive objects were the small vases in faience and glass, some in the shape of pomegranates, which have parallels in Palestine and Egypt. Stone pestles and loom-weights were less fascinating, but in their way they gave a picture of, and were easy to imagine as part of, the daily life of human beings.

The quantity of Cypriote material scattered around the world was quite unexpected. As my then husband was at the same time working on the pottery of the Late Cypriote period for the same volume of *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, we had the opportunity to travel around, seeking Cypriote objects in various museums. This was as good a reason as any for going to various places, such as the British Museum in London for objects from the British excavations at the turn of the century and Philadelphia in the United States, where material from the more recent excavations at Kourion *Bamboula* was stored, to mention only two of the museums containing objects from Cyprus.

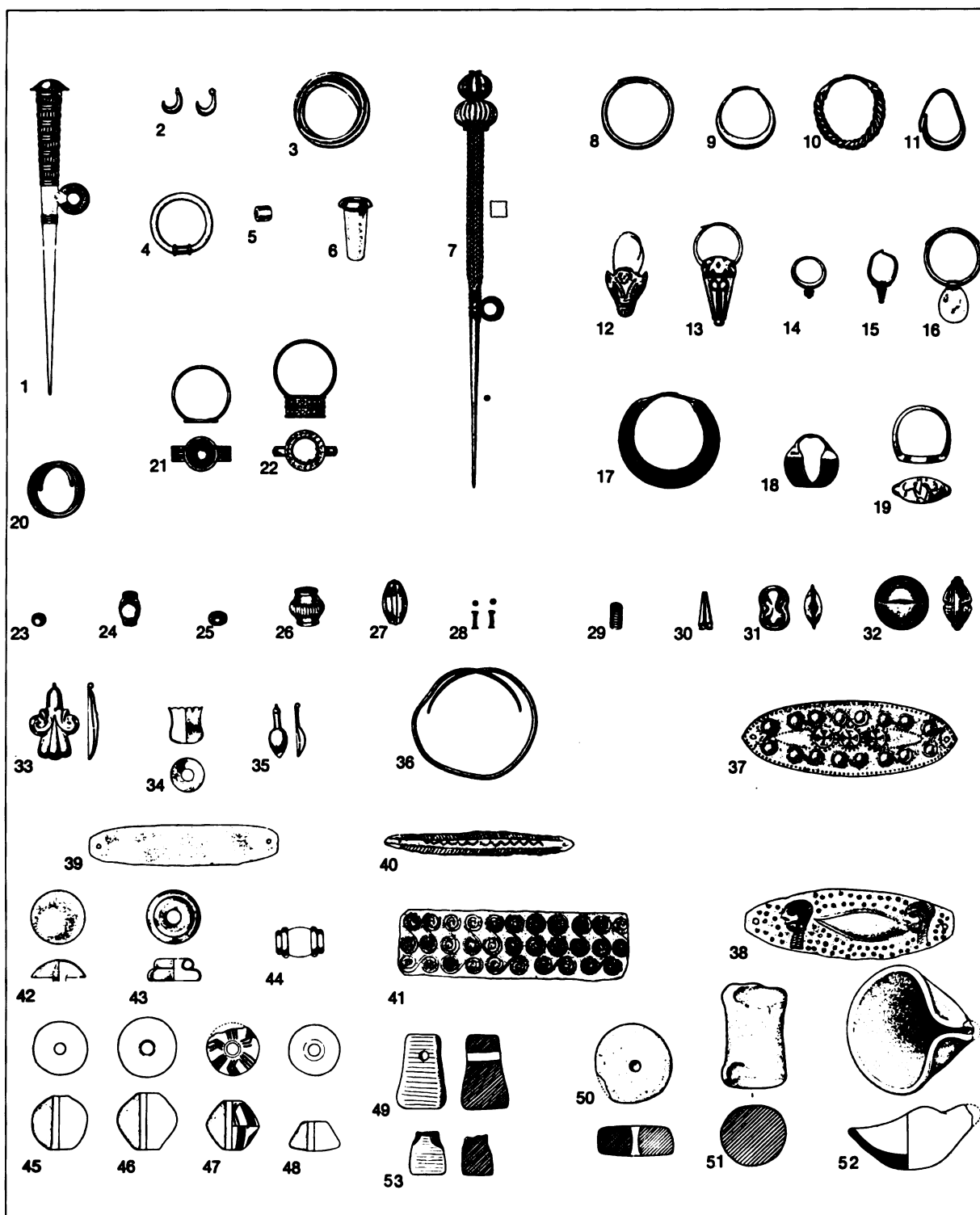
Most of the material from the Expedition, as well

as from other, earlier or later excavations, was, however, to be found in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia, where I spent several hot days in a friendly atmosphere in the summers of 1959 and 1960. In August 1960, Cyprus was proclaimed an independent republic and it was interesting to be present at this important moment in the modern history of Cyprus.

The rest of the material excavated by the Swedes was in Stockholm in the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities, some exhibited, some stored in the basement. At that time the Museum was housed in the Museum of National Antiquities, where I spent several hours working through the cardboard boxes in which the objects were easily found in their respective tomb-groups. Bror Millberg, the skilled draughtsman working for the *SCE* who made the drawings of most of the objects for my thesis, sometimes came down for a chat. The winter weather in Stockholm in December was in sharp contrast to that in Nicosia in July when the heat was oppressive.

The object of my thesis was not only to collect and classify the Late Cypriote arts and crafts but also to place them in their historical and geographical context and to study connections between Cyprus and the surrounding world at that time. Thus, my travels included visits to other museums in the Near East, such as Cairo, Amman, Latakia and Beirut, before war broke out, and to Jerusalem, then divided by an iron curtain which could be penetrated only with the help of a diplomatic passport. The comparison with similar objects from neighbouring places gave a picture of the contacts between Cyprus and Syria, Palestine, the Aegean, and to some extent Egypt. The conclusions drawn from my studies were that the artefacts, apart from evidently imported objects, had a specifically Cypriote character, although they were more or less heavily influenced chiefly from the East and partly from the Aegean.

The travels to various museums involved also visits to libraries to study the publications of Cypriote objects and comparable objects from excavations in neighbouring countries. The various types of libraries and their varying systems of classification and ways of serving their clients gave me a solid background for my present profession of



Silver, gold and terracotta objects. From *SCE IV:1D*, fig. 65 on p. 509.



librarian and a personal view of how a good library should function, although today both libraries and museums have benefited greatly from computers.

Of course, the work involved many long, sometimes tedious hours of desk work in various institutes of classical studies in Lund, Athens, Rome and Columbia, Missouri. A special study could be written about the problems caused by various standards for perforators and loose-leaf binders in Greece, Sweden and the United States. This is one of the problems that the European Communities will deal with, although nowadays most working notes are probably stored on floppy discs.

My thesis, *Studies on the arts and crafts of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Lund 1967), was discussed at

the University of Lund on May 18th, 1967 with the late Director of Antiquities of Cyprus, Dr Porphyrios Dikaïos, acting as faculty opponent. Excavations conducted during the last quarter-century have yielded more Late Cypriote material which, of course, could not be described in my thesis. The Cypriote period in my life has ended, but I hope that my thesis can still serve as a tool for classifying the Late Cypriote objects waiting to be found in the soil of Cyprus.

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# An Excavation of an Excavation On the Track of Nitovikla 60 Years after the Expedition

Gunnel Hult

The purpose of this paper is to tell the reader how much information still lies hidden in the huge material collected during the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and now in store in the Medelhavsmuseet. It also tells about how, in my work on some of this material, I became acquainted with one of the members of the expedition, Erik Sjöqvist, and his workmen and came to admire what the expedition had achieved during these early years, when archaeological excavation methods were still in their infancy.

Nitovikla, a Bronze Age fortress in north-eastern Cyprus, was excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in 1929 (see map on p. 8, and my *Figs. 1-2*). The leader of this particular project was Erik Sjöqvist. It was a heavy responsibility for a young man; he was only 26 years old. In spite of his until then limited experience of Late Cypriote, Bronze Age pottery, he performed his task with honour. Afterwards, however, he could only study and publish a small part of the pottery; the members of the expedition had only a limited time at their disposal to manage the publication of the huge total project. The Nitovikla report was published as a chapter in *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition (SCE) I*, 1934.

I had, however, cause to doubt his dating of the first construction of the fortress to the Middle Cypriote Bronze Age, since the only parallels in Cyprus to some of its architectural details belong to the 13th and 12th centuries B.C., the later part of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. A new excavation was not possible because of the current political conditions in Cyprus, but I solved my problem by

another kind of excavation—by tracing and investigating all the material left from the excavation and now stored in the Medelhavsmuseet.

More was preserved than I had dared to hope for. Regrettably, no diary was found, but a large number of plans and profiles in manuscript, drawn by John Lindros, the architect of the expedition, were preserved (only a few of them had been published). Some marginal sketches by Lindros made me happy, for example, the charming little Bronze Age soldiers guarding the fortress (*Fig. 3*). By constructing a three-dimensional model of the stratigraphy of the site (Sjöqvist had only interpreted a few sections separately, two-dimensionally), I could revise some of his results. So carefully did Lindros draw his plan of the fortress, that, when, by means of the sections, I had reconstructed a later threshing-floor in the courtyard of the ruined fortress, overlooked in Sjöqvist's interpretation, it was all there in Lindros' plan: a circular, stone-paved area (*Fig. 2*).

Such threshing-floors were still in use in the 1920s, as shown by a photograph (*Fig. 4*) in E. Gjerstad's popular description of the Expedition's daily life, *Sekler och dagar* (published 1933; revised English edition entitled *Ages and days in Cyprus*, 1980).

Sjöqvist had only published potsherds from a limited number of units in a table with sherd statistics; only four sherds were pictured in the publication, together with the mended, upper part of a Minoan stirrup-jar found on the site (*SCE I*, pl. LXX, 3, 5).

However, all the potsherds collected were

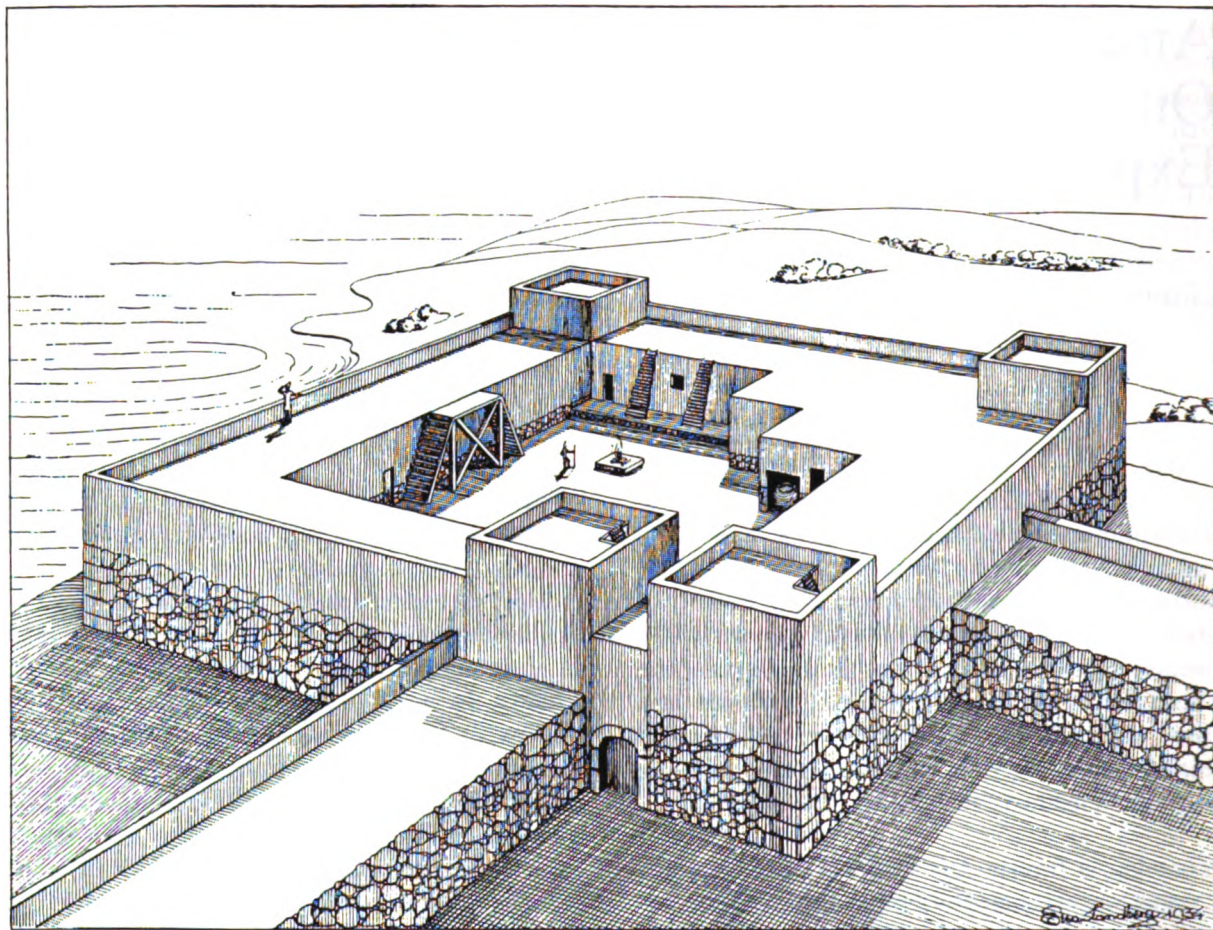


Fig. 1. Nitovikla. Reconstruction sketch. From *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, fig. 158 on p. 402.

probably preserved, c. 11,000 in all. Also undecorated fragments and coarse fragments were kept, a principle very seldom applied in those early days and up to the present. The sherds were stored in c. 150 boxes of shoebox size, with the foreman's (?) notes on the lid, under sixty years of dust (*Fig. 5*). His writing gave me some problems; his misspellings and Cypriote dialect, with a lot of *katharevousa* in it, were not easy to interpret. One word, *klosma*, was at last explained by Petros, the Cypriote foreman of Paul Åström's present excavations at Hala Sultan Tekke: it meant a nook behind an open door.

The foreman's struggle to describe exactly where a pottery unit derived from was rather moving, but his many words were sometimes not enough. This does not apply to the pottery from three long trenches

crossing the courtyard, which were more carefully excavated and placed in a grid (*Fig. 2*).

By collecting the dates on the lids, I found that the excavation only lasted about three weeks—showing the intensity of the work of the Expedition!

Since different systems were used for denoting the levels of the pottery units on the box lids and in the publication, I had to work out a correlation chart; apart from some doubtful cases, this was possible. What also made my work difficult was that, in those early days, pottery was collected from artificial levels, independently of the natural layers; the latter were apparently documented afterwards, when the profiles were drawn. Consequently, very few pottery units represent single natural layers. I could follow Sjöqvist in his work on the publication and see how



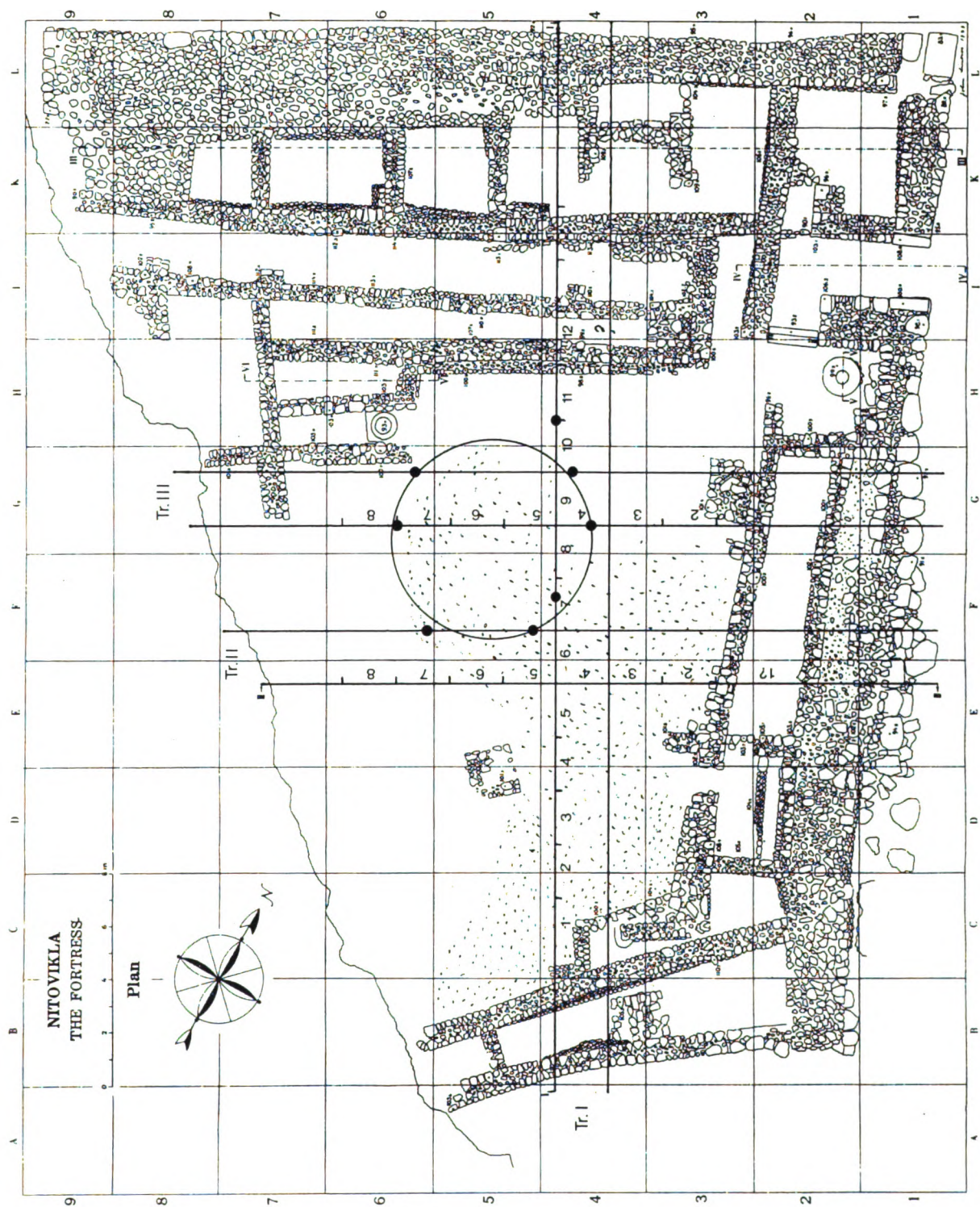


Fig. 2. Plan of the Nitovikla fortress, based on *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I*, plan XV, 1, with additions. Cf. Hult, *Nitovikla reconsidered*, fig. II. Circular area: threshing-floor.



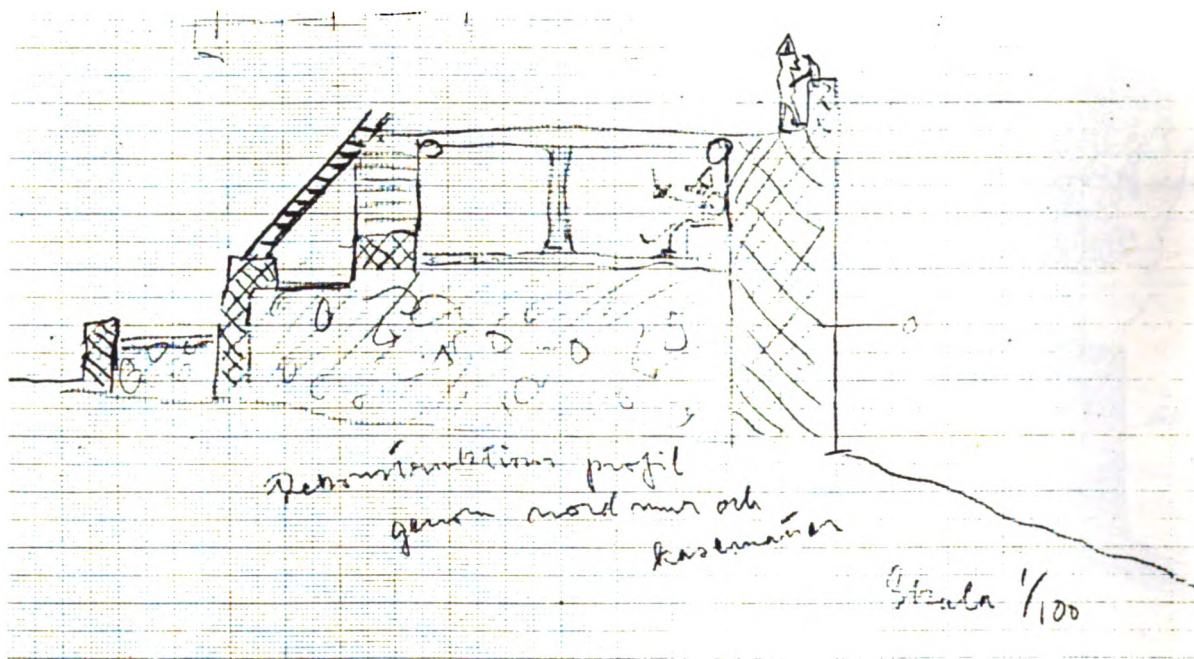


Fig. 3. Marginal sketch by J. Lindros. Archives of the SCE.

he struggled with this problem—I realized that honesty was his lodestar. In the end, he based his chronological discussion on the few single-layer units he could find, in the main, the same ones as I had to use to date the different fortress periods.

My workplace for long periods was a storage room behind a parking garage in the basement of the “Garnisonen”, an office building in Stockholm. The room was furnished with a cupboard containing ancient, Cypriote, human skulls and an Egyptian sarcophagus; on this, I stretched out now and then to rest my back—not very comfortably, since it had a rounded top, from which I was apt to slip down. Classifying and counting the potsherds and relating them to the stratigraphy was my means of checking the dates of the fortress periods. The drawing of profiles and decorated sherds (c. 1,100, i.e. every tenth fragment) I could perform in the more friendly atmosphere of the Medelhavsmuseet. When I worked through the potsherds in the boxes, I came to identify myself more and more with Erik Sjöqvist. The proudly framed word “Klart!” (= Finished), written by him on the box after the sherd-counting, could just as well have been written by myself with

a sigh of relief. One night I dreamt that I was eating potsherds! Later, somebody told me that Einar Gjerstad had once had a similar dream.

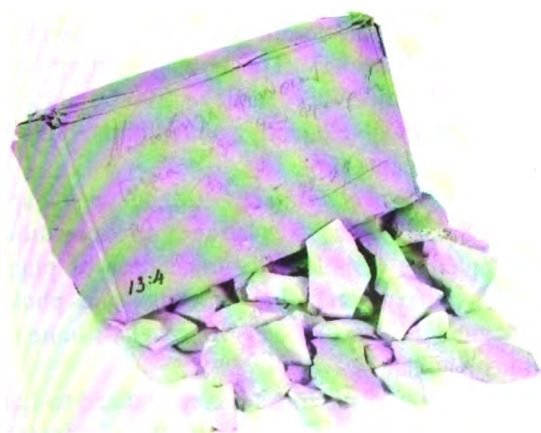
When I tried to rinse some sherds in water, I found that they grew sticky; the stickiness stuck to my hands, in spite of my washing them. The sherds contained hygroscopic salts, and I suspect that they had been washed in the Mediterranean at the time of the campaign. The excavation camp was sited on the shore below the fortress hill, offering refreshing swims in the evenings. A photograph of this ideal site will be found in *Sekler och dagar* (Fig. 6). Or, if the sherds were washed with hydrochloric acid, the salt may have been formed by acid residues and lime.

Having much more time than Erik Sjöqvist and with 60 years' additional knowledge of Cypriote pottery acquired by scholars, I had new opportunities of identifying pottery groups which Sjöqvist did not identify and of re-dating them. I also worked just as conscientiously on the plain, undecorated pottery as on the finer pieces. Sjöqvist had only estimated the percentages of those groups but not studied them, in accordance with the custom of those times. This was the reason why he missed all the Roman pottery





Fig. 4. Threshing. Archives of the SCE. Cf. Gjerstad, *Sekler och dagar*, p. 119.



(which was undecorated), and this pottery now made it possible for me to identify the threshing-floor as belonging to Roman times. I could now also compare my pottery statistics with statistics from some other, roughly contemporary sites, later excavated, and draw conclusions from this.

In addition to all the pottery, some bones were collected. This was seldom done in the early days of

Fig. 5. One of the boxes with potsherds from Nitovikla. Pencil writing in Greek on cover: "Nitovikla fortress. Sherds from outside the fortress towards the north. 16-10-29".



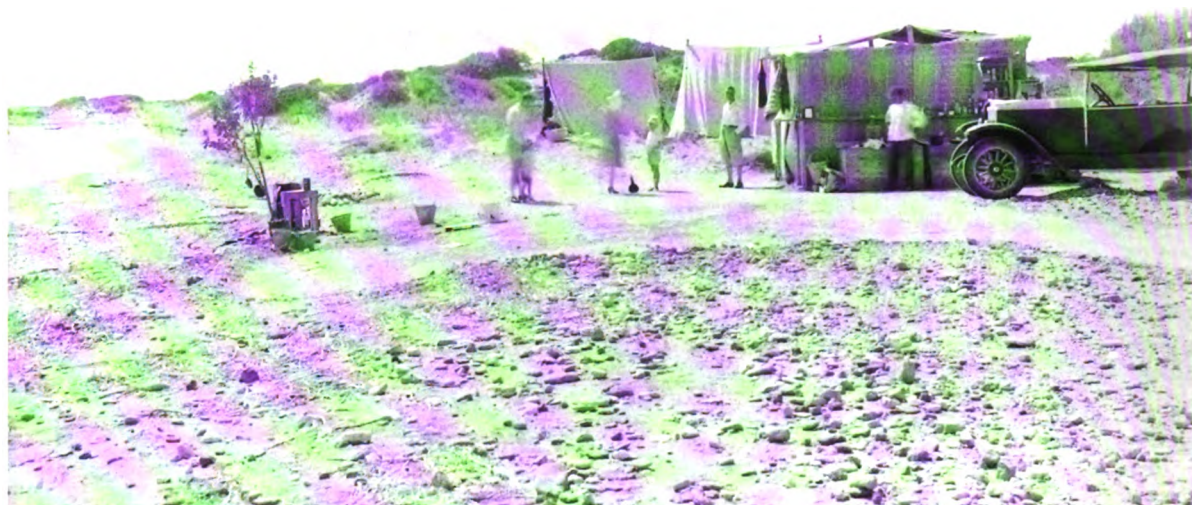


Fig. 6. The camp at Nitovikla. Archives of the SCE. Cf. Gjerstad, *Sekler och dagar*, p. 79.

archaeology. I also found a small box, which had once contained "lantern plates for gas light printing and development" in the larger box of bones. This small box is a pathetic example of the archaeologist's notorious shortage of packing material: all possible containers are used. It now held a collection of bones, but the label belonging to them was lost. Rita Larje, the osteologist who examined and published the bones, is almost certain that the bones came from the cistern in the fortress. There were bones from at least two individuals each of the green toad and the broad-toothed field mouse. By its large size, the mouse formed a Bronze Age link in the decrease of the size of this species through the ages. Otherwise, the bones from the fortress belonged to cattle, sheep, goats and a dog.

With the material documented and copies of all the original plans and profiles, I was able to continue at home in Göteborg with the thrilling, concluding work—which took me several years, alongside my lecturing at the University of Göteborg. And these

150 boxes are only a small part of the 5,000 boxes containing potsherds from the expedition ...

The sherd drawings turned out to be extremely useful, and I could even put together sherds from quite different boxes, by means of cut-out drawings. Using these drawings, I could also search for parallels, in the first place, of course, in the "Bible" or "Flora" of Cypriote archaeology, *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition I-IV*. The most interesting ware was the Bichrome Wheel-made (c. 700 fragments), some of them with elegantly painted birds, bulls or abstract ornaments (Fig. 7).

In *Nitovikla reconsidered* (Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8, 1992), my "excavation of an excavation" is presented: a complete documentation of plans, profiles, pottery (including drawings and photographs) and discussions. The osteologist's bone report is included.

The erection of the fortress is now dated to Late Cypriote Bronze Age I (around 1500 B.C.), instead of the Middle Bronze Age. In spite of its date being

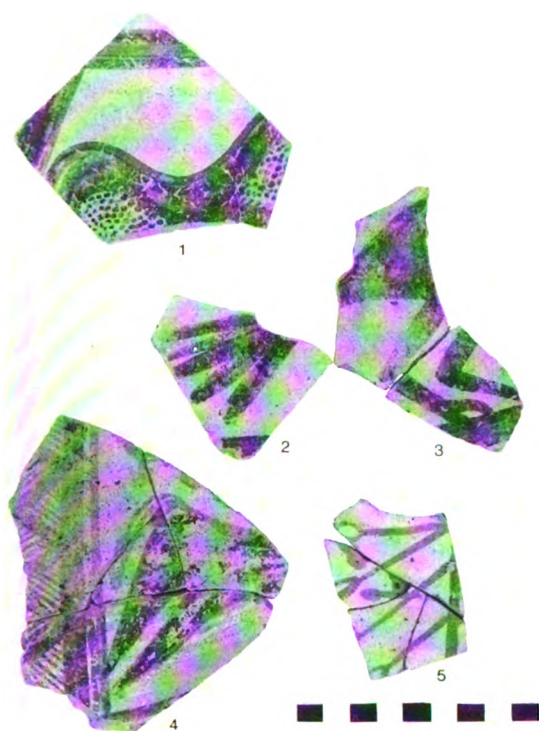


Fig. 7. Bichrome Wheel-made sherds. From Hult, *Nitovikla reconsidered*, fig. 34.

lowered by c. 150 years, it still remains a piece of architecture unique for its period in Cyprus.

The erection of Nitovikla cannot be used as an argument for any activity of the Hyksos in Cyprus (Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age*, 1940); they had at that time left the scene. Neither could Tuthmosis III have destroyed the first fortress as conqueror of Cyprus (Gjerstad, *Sekler och dagar*); this destruction occurred around 1400 B.C. (Late Cypriote Bronze Age I/II), after the time of that king. It may have been built to protect the Cypriote trading route to Syria, and perhaps pirates were the destroyers of the fortress. After a rebuilding, the fortress was peacefully abandoned in the 14th century B.C.

Finally, the important thing to stress here is what an enormous amount of work the members of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition performed during those few years, and how they preserved material and documentation for later generations of archaeologists to investigate, according to new principles and by modern methods.

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# A Posthumous Meeting with Bror Millberg

Eva Rystedt

My study of the Mycenaean chariot kraters took its start not from books but from the pots themselves. Several had been found on Cyprus by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and were to be seen in the Medelhavsmuseet in Stockholm, in the showcases and, still more, in the storerooms. It was a krater kept in the storerooms which gave me the decisive impetus (E. 3.272, *Fig. 1*). It did not require any previous grounding either in Mycenaean pot-painting or in Mycenaean culture as a whole to see that one of its two-figure scenes represented boxers. But what about the other, opposite one? The vase-painting was much effaced, but it was absolutely clear that there was no connection between the hand of the left figure and the head of the nearest horse. On the basis of this disconnection and the scheme of the arms and the hands, I launched my thesis—too bold, according to many—that these figures represented runners, their arms not portrayed according to the later Greek convention for running figures, like gorgons, but according to a different formula which is explicable from a prehistoric viewpoint. Boxing and running, then, in addition to what was being performed by the chariot-drivers: chariot-racing, in my opinion.

I realized that in a study of this sort it was important to reproduce the vase-paintings graphically, especially where the colour had gone. In these places there is generally a reasonably good imprint of the colour left.

So far I have published five drawings of entire friezes on Mycenaean chariot kraters. To make such a drawing is a very time-consuming business. I first trace the painting on the vase in soft pencil, proceed-

ing sectionwise from left to right (the double curve of the shoulder area, both horizontal and vertical, does not allow a single operation). Thereby I get some fifteen separate pieces of transparent paper with tracings on them. These I put together with the help of tape to form a flat, continuous drawing. It is slightly expanded in its upper part with respect to the painting on the vase, to allow for the vertical curving. Finally, I place a clean, transparent paper on top and ink the drawing. The scale of the final product remains 1:1.

My forerunner in the field of frieze-drawing on the Mycenaean chariot kraters, and the only consistently competent one I have found, on scanning the extant publications, is Bror Millberg (*Fig. 7*). He was associated as a draughtsman with *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, working in Sweden on the Cypriote material brought here. He is dead by now. I never met him. But I have seen his drawings, both the published ones and the originals which were handed in to the printers. In one case I have also come upon a drawing wholly in pencil, apparently an unfinished one.

I first present one of his drawings of the second sort (*Fig. 2*). It was to appear in E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Stockholm 1940), on a plate illustrating the decorated amphoroid kraters found by the Expedition at Enkomi (*Fig. 20:2*). I adduce my own drawing of the same pot for comparison (*Fig. 3*). The krater in question is kept at the Institute of Classical Archaeology at Lund University (E. 3.258 (LA 438)).

It will appear that Millberg did not use the same

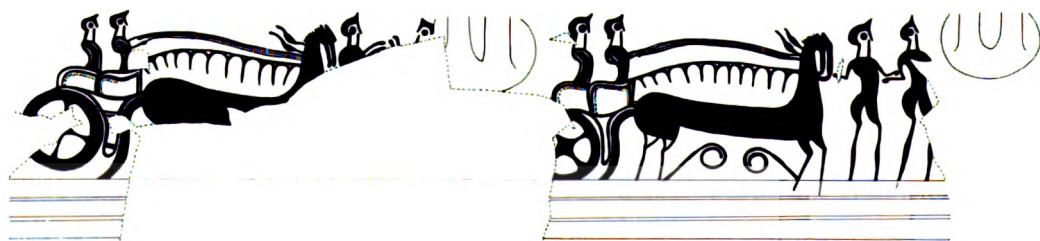


Fig. 1. MM E. 3.272. Photo by Margareta Sjöblom. Drawing by the author.



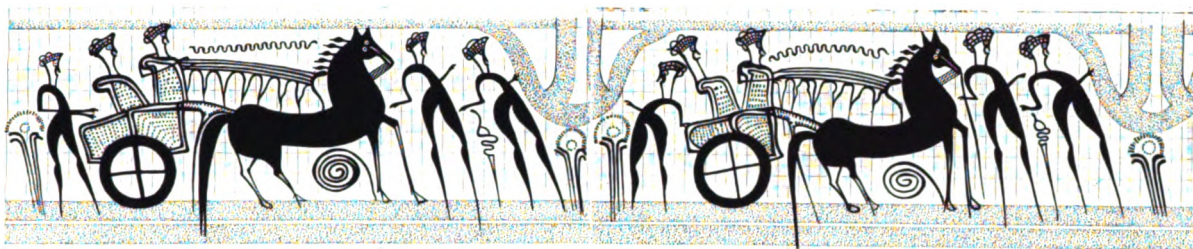


Fig. 2. LA 438 (E. 3.258). Inked drawing on millimeter paper by Bror Millberg. Archives of the SCE.

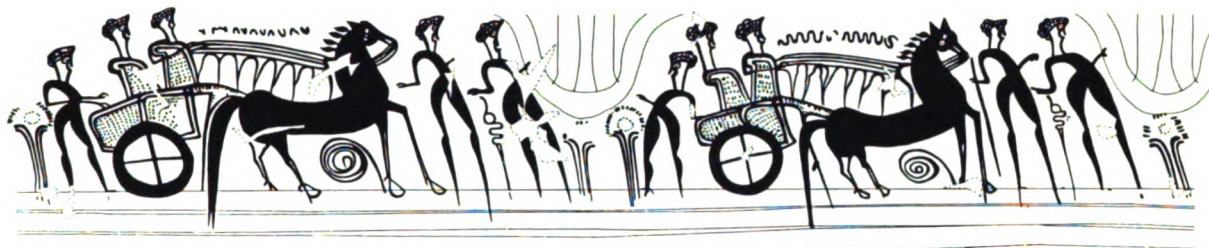


Fig. 3. LA 438 (E. 3.258). Inked drawing on transparent paper by the author.

method as myself. He did not trace the painting on the vase. Instead, he used millimeter paper, to which he transferred the original by measuring. He then used the same paper for inking. On scrutinizing the paper one finds, alongside and outside the ink, traces of his pencil lines and of his measuring spots appearing as pencil dots. His scale is 1:2.

To reproduce the vase-painting in this way is quite a feat, and to do it as carefully and as beautifully as Millberg did is remarkable. I could never do it myself. Millberg must have had a very good eye.

I shall not withhold Millberg's unfinished and unpublished drawing—it is too dear to me, not least because it relates to my first krater, my first love, if you will, of which I just spoke. The drawing (Fig. 4) confirms my inferences on Millberg's technical procedure. It was made to scale 1:2 on millimeter paper. If one checks up on the spot which was so thrilling to me at that time, one sees that Millberg reckoned with a connection between the horse and the man. As regards details of this sort, I think that my method of reproducing the painting may be more

dependable, since it forces the draughtsman to follow with his or her pencil the very lines of the ancient painter. Also, I may be helped by the fact that I am a scholar, which Millberg was not; a scholar who can get an idea from the rest of the paintings on the vase of what to expect from the present one, and so perhaps avoid offhand or rash solutions (like taking the figure to be a groom, leading the horse by the bridle).

Otherwise, one can see from this drawing the kind of painstaking job Millberg did, the pencil thickenings marking his points of measurement. And the difficulties he experienced when reproducing the "tassels" below the reins were the same as I got into fifty years later.

The drawing was subsequently finished, for it appears in *Opuscula Atheniensia* III, in an article by Vassos Karageorghis on Mycenaean pottery from Enkomi dug up by the Swedes.

A reproduction, however it is made, is a reproduction and, as such, it is not the same as the original. I present, finally, for comparison and





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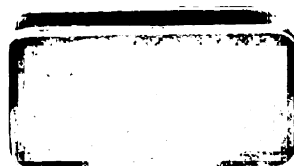
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Inside



## THE SWEDISH CYPRUS EXPEDITION. THE LIVING PAST

In past years large archaeological undertakings by Swedes in foreign countries have not been rare. The largest with respect to program and scholarly outcome was the **Swedish Cyprus Expedition**, which took place in the years 1927–1931. Four men—archaeologists Einar Gjerstad, Erik Sjöqvist and Alfred Westholm and architect John Lindros—assisted by squads of loyal Cypriote workers dug into the soil at nearly twenty sites, chosen so as to afford the maximum insight into the prehistory and early history of the island. The publication work resulted in a series of sizable volumes which still serve as handbooks in the field of Cypriote archaeology.

The Swedes were allotted around half of the finds made during the excavations. Once it arrived in Sweden this material formed part of the collections which enabled the **Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities** to be founded.

Starting with the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, this book gives glimpses of the path followed by the excavated material through the brains of scholars, as well as through storerooms and exhibitions, up to the present time. An impression is conveyed of a grand archaeological past that has been united with the caring resources of a modern museum.



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